Demonology, By King James I



BY King James I



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King James I





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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

About the Book

"The first text presented here, written by James I of England, is a wide-ranging discussion of witchcraft, necromancy, possession, demons, we re-wolves, fairies and ghosts, in the form of a Socratic dialogue. The second text is a sensational historical account of Scottish witch persecution and is one of the sources cited by Margaret Murray. I have taken some care to transcribe these historical documents letter for letter, without any attempt at correction or modernization of spelling. These documents exemplify the convoluted intellectual rationalizations used to justify the barbaric witch hunts. The texts were scanned from an early 20th Century reprint."

(Quote from sacred-texts.com)

About the Author

King James I (1566 - 1625)

"James VI and I (19 June 1566 - 27 March 1625) was King of Scots as James VI, and King of England and King of Ireland as James I. He ruled in Scotland as James VI from 24 July 1567, when he was only one year old, succeeding his mother Mary, Queen of Scots. Regents governed during his minority, which ended officially in 1578, though he did not gain full control of his government until 1581. On 24 March 1603, as James I, he succeeded the last Tudor monarch of England and Ireland, Elizabeth I, who died without issue. He then ruled England,



Scotland and Ireland for 22 years, until his death at the age of 58.

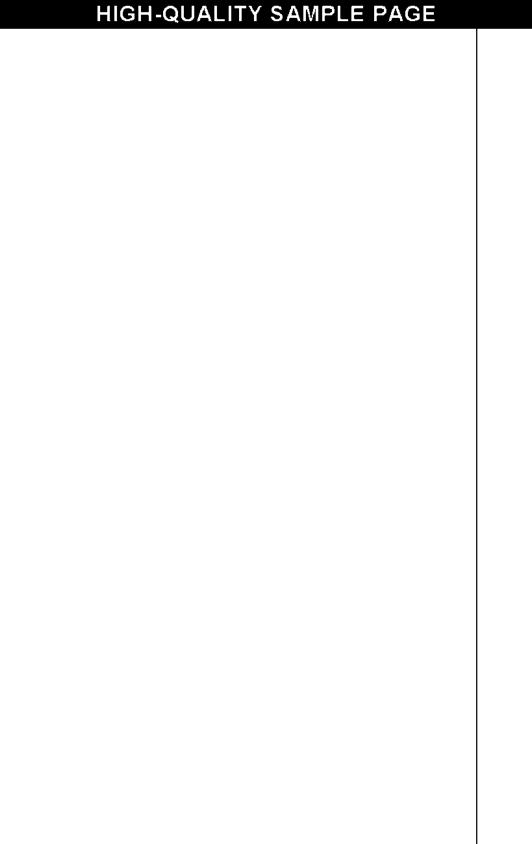
James achieved most of his aims in Scotland but faced great difficulties in England, including the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and repeated conflicts with the English Parliament. According to a tradition originating with historians of the mid-seventeenth-century, James's taste for political absolutism, his financial irresponsibility, and his cultivation of unpopular favourites established the foundation for the English Civil War. Recent historians, however, have revised James's reputation and treated him as a serious and thoughtful monarch.

Under James, the "Golden Age" of Elizabethan literature and drama continued, with writers such as William Shakespeare, John Donne, Ben Jonson, and Sir Francis Bacon contributing to a flourishing literary culture. James himself was a talented scholar, the author of works such as Daemonologie (1597) and Basilikon Doron (1599). Sir Anthony Weldon claimed that James had been termed "the wisest fool in Christendom", an epithet associated with his character ever since."

(Quote from wikipedia.org)

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BODLEY HEAD EDITION

HE Dæmonologie of King James, the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, was written, as the Royal author states in his Preface, to prove that 'the assautes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & that the instrumentes thereof, merits most severly to be punished.' Such a work has more than a passing interest. It gives the student of history and literature a brief and authoritative guide to the darker beliefs of our ancestors; there is, too, much to interest the theologian and the psychologist, whilst the philologist will find the book a mine of rare and curious phrases.

To the modern mind, after three centuries of scientific discovery, many of Epistemon's arguments will appear somewhat naïve, and, it must be confessed, that Philomathes, in his laudable efforts to draw out his companion's erudition, sometimes puts questions which are very inadequately answered. Our greater discernment and weaker faith will scarcely be convinced by the example: 'Thirdly, said not Samuell to Saull, that disobedience is as the sinne of Witch-craft? To compare to a thing that were not, it were too too absurd.' Still, given the implicit belief, the James makes many shrewd posservations, and the twentieth-century medium would probably confirm 'that there are twentie women given to that craft where ther is one man.' The explanation (given on pp. 43-4) would not, perhaps, be as readily accepted.

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The Neweslfrom Scotland, which is also included in this volume of the Bodley Head Quartos, claims to give a true account of a very notable witch trial wherein King James took a prominent part. The influence of the 'revelations' then made can clearly be seen in the Dæmonologie. Although at first sight the cruelty and barbarity of the whole business is revolting, it must not be put down as solely due to panic and terror. These poor women when their heads were 'thrawen with a rope according to the custom of that Country' were ready to confess anything, but the credulity of the judges was understandable after Agnis Sampson had drawn the King aside and 'declared vnto him the verye woordes which passed betweene the Kings Maiestie and his Queene at Vpslo in Norway the first night of their marriage, with their answere each to other.' Even a stouter hearted scholar would have found remarkable confirmation of his worst fears in this alarming revelation. Moreover, in destroying the Devil's ministers the King really thought that he was only carrying out his plain duty towards God.

Of King Jarnes himself one of the most vivid accounts is to be found in a letter of Sir John Harrington, describing an audience which he had with the King. 'Soon upon this, the Prince his Highnesse did enter, and in muche goode humour askede, "If I was cosen to lorde Haryngton of Exton?" I humblie repliede,--"His Majestie did me some honour in enquiringe my kin to one whome he had so late honourede and made a barone;" and moreover did adde, "wee were bothe branches of the same tree." The he enquyrede muche of lernynge, and showede me his owne in suche sorte, as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetyme. He soughte muche to knowe my advances in philosophie, and utterede profounde sentences of Aristotle, and suche lyke wryters, whiche I had never reade, and which some are bolde enoughe to saye, others do not understand: but this I must passe by. The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him parte of a canto in "Ariosto"; praysede my

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utterance, and said he had been informede of manie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He asked me "what I thought pure witte was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether a Kynge should not be the best clerke in his owne countrie; and, if this lande did not entertayne goode opinion of his lernynge and wisdome?" His Majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane in matter of witchcraft; and asked me, with much gravitie,--"if I did trulie understande, why the devil did worke more with anciente women than others?""...

'More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wantede roome to dontinue, and sometime roome to escape; for the Queene was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, "spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte presentede to them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire. He then did remarke muche on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certaine bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future chances. Hereat, he namede many bookes. which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advisede me not to consult some authors which woulde leade me to evile consultations. I tolde his Majestie, "the power of Satan had, I muche fearede, damagede my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will to cowrte his friendshipe, for my soules hurt."--We nexte discoursede somewhat on religion, when at lengthe he saide: "Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdome in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you, do me justice in your reporte, and in good season, I will not fail to add to your understandinge, in suche pointes as I maye find you lacke amendmente." I made courtesie hereat, and withdrewe downe



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the passage, and out at the gate, amidst the man e variets and lordlie servantes who stoode arounde. 11

G. B. HARRISON.

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¹ Nugae Antiquae, i 367.

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PREFACE

to the Reader

THE fearefull aboundinge at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaues of the Deuill, the Witches or enchaunters, hath moved me (beloued reader) to dispatch in post, this following treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serue for a shew of my learning & ingine, but onely (mooued of conscience) to preasse / thereby, so farre as I can, to resolue the doubting harts of many; both that such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & that the instrumentes thereof, merits most severly to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, wherof the one called SCOT an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to deny, that ther can be such a thing as Witchcraft: and so mainteines the old error of the Sadducees, in denying of spirits. The other called VVIERVS, a German Phisition, sets out a publick apologie for all these craftesfolkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainely bewrayes himselfe to have bene one of that Profession. And for to make this treatise the more pleasaunt and facill, I have put it in forme of a Dialogue, which I have divided into three bookes: The first spea-/ king of Magie in general, and Necromancie in special. The second of Sorcerie and Witch-craft: and the thirde, conteines a discourse of all these kindes of spirits, & Spectres that appeares & trobles persones: together with a conclusion of the whole work. My intention in this labour, is only to proue two things, as I have alreadie said: the one, that such divelish artes have bene and are. The other, what exact trial and severe punishment they merite: & therefore reason I, what kinde of things are



possible to be performed in these arts, & by what naturall causes they may be, not that I touch every particular thing of the Deuils power, for that were infinite: but dinelie, to speak scholasticklie, (since this can not be spoken in our language) I reason upon Igenus leaving species, and differential to be comprehended therein. / As for example, speaking of the power of Magiciens, in the first book & sixt Chapter: I say, that they can suddenly cause be brought which them, all kindes of daintie disshes, by their familiar spirit: Since as a thiefe he delightes to steale, and as a spirite, he can subtilite & suddenlie inough. transport the same. Now vnder this genus, may be comprehended al particulars, depending thereupon, Such as the bringing Wine but of a Wall, (as we have heard off to have benepractised) and such others; which particulars, are sufficientle. proved by the reasons of the general. And such like in the second booke of Witch-craft in speciall, and fift Chap. I say and proue by diverse arguments, that Witches can, by the power of their Master, cure or cast on disseases: Now by these same reasones, that proues their power by the / Deuil of disseases in generall, is aswell proued their power in speciall: as of weakening the nature of some men, to make them vnable for women: and making it to abound in others, more then the ordinary course of nature would permit And such like in all other particular sicknesses; But one thing | will pray thee to observe in all these places, where I reason whom the deuils power, which is: the diferent ends & scopes, that food as the first cause, and the Devill as his instrument and second bause shootes at infall these. actiones of the Deuil, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the deuilles intention in them is even to perish, either the soule or the body, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with: God by the contrarie, drawes ever out of that euill glorie to himselfe, either by the wracke of the wicked in his justice, or / by the tryall of the patient, and amendment of the faithfull, being wakened up with that rold of correction. Hading thus declared vnto thee then, my full intention in this Treatise, thou



wilt easelie excuse, I doubt not, aswel my pretermitting, to declare the whole particular rites and secretes of these valawfull aftes: as also their infinite and wounderfull practises, as being neither of them pertinent to my purpose: the reason whereof, is given in the hinder ende of the first Chapter of the thirde blocke; and who likes to be curious in these thinges, he may reade if he will here of their practises, BODINVS Dæmonomanie, collected with greater diligence, then written with judgement, together with their confessions, that have bene at this time apprehence. If he would know what hath bene the opinion of the Aunci- / entes, concerning their power: he shall see it wel descrybed by HYPERIVS, & HEMMINGIVS, two, late. Germaine writers: Besides innumerable other neoterick Theologues, that writes largelie upon that subject: And if he woulde knowe what are the particular rites, & curiosities of these black arts (which is both vnnecessarie and perilous,) he will finde it in the fourth book of CORNELIVS Agrippa, and in VVIERVS, whomof spak. And so wishing my bains in this Treatise. (beloved Reader) to be effectual, in arming all them that reades. the same, against these above mentioned erroures, and recommending my goodwill to thy friendly acceptation, I bid. thee hadtely fare-well.

JAME\$ R.



DÆMONOLOGIE: THE FIRST BOOKE

AM surely verie glad to have mette with you this daye, for I am of opinion, that we can better resolve me of some thing, wherof I stand in great doubt, nor a sie other whom-with I could have mette.

EPI. In what I can, that ye like to speir at me, I will willinglie and freelie tell my opinion, and if I proue it not sufficiently, I am heartely content that a better reason carie it away then.

PHI. What thinke yee of these strange newes, which now onelie furnishes purpose to all men at their meeting: I meane of these Witches?

EPI. Surelie they are wonderfull: And I think so cleare and plaine confessions in that purpose, have never fallen out in anie age or cuntrey.

PHI. No question if they be true, but thereof the Doctours doubtes.

EPI. What part of it doubt ye of?

PHI. Even of all, for ought I can yet perceaue: and namelle, that there is such a thing as Witchcraft or Witches, and I would pray you to resolve me thereof if ye may: for I have reasoned with sundrie in that matter, and yet could never be satisfied therein.

EPI. I shall with good will doe the best I can: But I thinke it the difficiller, since ye denic the thing it selfe in generall: for as it is



said in the logick schools. Contra negantern principia non est disputancium. Alwaies for that part, that witchcraft, and Witches have bene, and are, the former part is clearelie proved by the Scriptures, and the last by dailie experience and confessions.

PHI. I know Yee will alleadge me Saules Pythonisse: but that as appeares will not make much for you.

EPI. Not onlie that place, but divers others But I marvel why that should not make much for me?

PHI. The reasones are these, first Yee may donsider, that Saul 1 being troubled in spirit, and having fasted long before, as the text testifieth, and being dome to a woman that was bruted to have such knowledge, and that to inquire so important hews, he having so guiltie a conscience for his haiddus offences, and specially, for that same volawful curiositie, and horrible defection; and then the woman crying out upon the suddaine in great admiration, for the vocouth sight that she alledged to haue sene, discovering him to be the King, thogh disglysed, & denied by him before: it was no wounder I say, that his senses being thus distracted, he bould not perceave hir faining of hir voice, hele being himselfle in an other chalmer, and seeing nothing Next what could be, or was raised? The spirit of Samuel? Prophane and against all Theologie! the Diuell in his likenes as vnappeirant, that either God would permit him to come in the shape of his Saintes (for then could never the Prophets in those daies have bene sure, what Spirit spake to them in their visiones) or then that he could fore-tell what was to come there after; for Prophecie proceedeth onelie of G O D: and the Devill hath no knowledge of things to come.

¹ Sam. 28.

EPI. Yet if Yee will marke the wordes of the text, ye will finde clearely, that Saul saw that apparition: for giving you that Saul. was in an other Chalmer, at the making of the circles & conjurationes, needeful for that purpose as none of that craft will permit any others to behold at that time) yet it is evident by the text, that how some that once that vilclean spirit was fully risen, shee called in voon Saul. For it is spide in the text, that Saule knew him to be Samuel, which coulde not have bene, by the hearing tell buely of an olde man with an mantil, since there was many mo old men dead in Israel for Samuel: And the common weid of that whole Cuntrey was mantils. As to the next, that it was not the spirit of Samuel, | grant: In the proving whereof ye neede not to insist, since all Christians of whatsoever Religion agrees upon that; and none but either mere ignorants, or Necromanciers or Witches doubtes thereof. And that the Diuel is permitted at som-times to put himself in the liknes of the Saintes, it is plaine in the Striptures, where it is said, that Sathan can trans-forme himselfelinto an Angell of light 1. Neither could that bijing any inconvenient with the visiones of the Prophets, since it is most certaine, that God will not permit him so to deceive his own: but only such, as first wilfully deceives them-selves, by running vnto him, whome Gdd then suffers to fall in their owne snares, and justile permittes them to be illuded with great efficacy of deceit, because they would not believe the trueth (as Paul sayth). And as to the divelles foretelling of things to come, it is true that he knowes not all things future, but yet that he knowes parte, the Tragical event of this historie declares it, (which the wit of woman could never have fore-spoken) not that he hath any prescience, which is only proper to God: or yet knows anie thing by loking up- on God, as in a mirrour (as the good Angels doe) he being for ever debarred from the favorable presence & countenance of his

¹ 2. Cor. 11. 14.



creator, but only by one of these two meanles, either as being worldlie wise and taught by an continual experience, ever since the creation, judges by likelie-hood of thinges to come, according to the like that hath passed before, and the naturall causes, in respect of the vicissitude of all thinges; worldly: Or else by Gods employing of him in a turne, and so foreseene thereof: as appeared to have bin in this, whereof we finde the verie like in Micheas propheticque discourse the King Achab 1. But to produe this my first proposition, that the e can be such a thing as witch-craft, & witches, there are manie mo places in the Scriptures then this (as I said before). As first in the law of God, it is plainely prohibited 2: But certaine it is that the Law of God speakes nothing in vaine, nether doth if lay curses, or injoyne dunishmentes upon shaddowes, condemning that to be il, which is not in essence or being as we call it. Secondlie it is plaine, where wicked Pharaphs wise-men imitated and number. of Moses milacles , to harden the tyrants heart there by. Thirdly, faid flot Sarhuell to Saull, that disobedience is as the sinne of Witch-craft 4 To compare to a thing that were not, it were too too absurd. Fourthlie, was not Simon Magus, a man of that craft? And fiftie, what was she that had the spirit of Python? I beside inhumerable other places that were inkesom to recite.

CHAP, II. ARGV

What kyndie of sin the practizers of these wholawfull artes committes. The division of these artes. And quhat are the meanes that allures any to practize them.

¹ 1. King. 22. ² Exod. 22

³ Exod. 7 & 8.

¹ 1. Sam. 🕸 .

⁵ Acts. B.

PHILOMATHES

BVT I thinke it very strange, that God should permit anie mankynde (since they beare his owne Image) to fall in so grosse and filthle a defection.

EPI. Although man in his Creation was made to the Image of the Creator ¹, yet through his fall having once lost it, it is but restored agains in a part by grace onelie to the elect: So all the rest falling away from God, are given over in the handes of the Devill that enemie, to beare his Image: and being once so given over, the greatest and the grossest impietie, is the pleasantest, and most delytefull vnto them.

PHI. But may it not suffice him to have indirectly the rule, and produce the perdition of so manie soules by alluring them to vices, and to the following of their own appetites, suppose he abuse not so many simple soules, in making them directlie acknowledge him for their maister.

EPI. No surelle, for hee vses everle man, whom of he hath the rule, according to their complexion and knowledge: And so whome he findes most simple, he plaineliest discovers himselfe vnto them. For hee beeing the enemie of mans Salvation, vses al the meanes he can to entrappe them so farre in his snares, as it may be vnable to them thereafter (suppose they would) to rid themselves out of the same.

PHI. Then this sinne is a sinne against the holie Ghost.

EPI. It is in some, but not in all.

^{&#}x27; Gen.

PHI. How that? Are not all these that runnes directlie to the Devill in one Categorie.

EPI. God forbid, for the sin against the holie Ghost hath two branches: The one a falling backe from the whole service of G O D and a refusall of all his preceptes. The other is the doing of the first with knowledge, knowing that they doe wrong against their own conscience, and the testimonie of the holie Spirit, having once had a tast of the sweetnes of Gods mercies. Now in the first of these two, a I sortes of Necromancers, Enchanters or Witches, ar corr prehended: but in the last, none but such as erres with this knowledge that I have spoken of.

PHI Then it appeares that there are more sortes nor one, that are directlic professors of his service: and if so be, I pray you tell me how manie, and what are they?

EPI. There are principallie two sortes, wherever all the partes of that unhappie arte are redacted; whereof the one is called Magie of Necromancie, the other Sorcerie or Witch-craft.

Pill. What I pray you? and how mante are the meanes, whereby the Devil allures persones in anie of these snares?

EPI. Even by these three passiones that are within our selues: Curiositie in great Inglnes: thrist of revenge, for some tortes deeply apprehended: or greedie appetite of geare, caused through great powerty. As to the first of these, Curiosity, it is onelie the inticement of Magiciens, or Necromanciers: and the other two are the allureres of the Sorcerers, or Witches, for that olde and craftie Serpent, being a spirite, hee easilie spyes our

¹ Heb. 6.



affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to decease vs to our wracke.

CHAP. III ARG\

The significations and Etymologies of the words of Makle and Necromancie. The difference betuint Necromancie and Witchcraft: What are the entressis, and beginninges, that brings anle to the knowledge thereof.

PHILOMATHES

I Would gladlig first heare, what thirly is it that ye call Magie or Necromancie.

EPI. This worde Magie in the Persian toung, importes as muche. as to be and contemplator or interpretour of Divine and heavenlie sciences: which being first vsed amongs the Chaldees, through their ignorance of the true divinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principal vertue: And therefore, was named virjustile with an honorable stile, which name the Greekes imitated, generally importing all these kindles of volawfull artes.

And this word Necromancie is a Greek word, compounded of {Greek Nekrym} & {Greek mante a} which is to say, the Prophecie by the dead. This last nather is given, to this black & vnlawfull science by the figure Synedoche, because it is a principal part of that art, to serue them selues with dead carcages in their diginations.

PHI. What difference is there betwict this arte, and Witch-craft.

EPI. Surelle, the difference vulgare but betwixt them, it verries merrie, and in a maner true; for they say, that the Witches ar servantes onelie, and slaues to the Devil; but the Necromatciers are his maisters and commanders.

PHI. How can that be true, yt any men being specially adjuted to his service, can be his commanders?

EPI Yea, they may be: but it is onelie secundum quid: For it is not by anie power that they can have over him, but expacto allanerie: whereby he oblices himself in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obtains the fruition of the r body & soule which is the onlie thing he huntes for.

PHI. An verie in-æquitable contract forsooth: But I pray you discourse virto mee, what is the effect and secreets of that arte?

EPI, That is over large an fielde ye giue mee: yet I shall doe good-will, the most summarile that I can, to runne through the printipal points thereof. As there are two sorts of folkes that may be entysed to this arte, to wit, learned or unlearned; so is there two meanes, which are the first steerers up & feeders of their curiositie, thereby to make them to give themselved over to tile same: Which two meanes, I call the Divels schoole, and his|rudimentes. The learned haue their curiositie wakened uppe; and fedde by that which I call his schoole: this is the Astiplogie. judidiar! For divers men having attained to a great perfection in leafrling, & yet remaining overbare (alas) of the spilit of regeheration and frutes thereof: finding all natural thinges common, aswell to the stupide pedants as voto them, they assigle to vendicate voto them a greater name, by not loolie knowing the course of things heavenlie, but likewise to clim to the knowledge of things to come thereby. Which, at the first face appearing (awfull vnto them, in respect the ground therof segmenth to proceed of naturall causes onelie: they are so allured thereby, that finding their practize to prooue true in



sundry things, they studie to know the cause thereof: and so mounting from degree to degree, upon the slipperie and vncertaine scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawfull artes or sciences falles to satisfie their restles mindes, ever to seeke to that black and unlawfull science of Magie. Where, finding at the first, that such divers formes of circles & conjurations rightlie joyhed thereunto, will raise such divers formes of spirites, to resolve them of their doubts: and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparablic tyed, br inherent in the circles: and manie words of God, confused in wrapped in; they blindlie glorie of themselves, as if they had by their quicknes of ingine, made a donquest of Plutoes dominion, and were become Emperours over the Stygian habitacles. Where, in the meane time (miseraple wretches) they are become in verie deede, bond-slaues to their mortall enemie: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing evill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof, as Adams | was by the eating of the forbidded tree.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV

The Description of the Rudiments and Schoole, which are the entresses to the arte of Magie: And in speciall the differences betwixt Astronomie and Astrologie: Φ(u)sion of Astrologie in divers partes

PHILOMATHES

BVt I pray you likewise forget not to tell what are the Deuilles. rudimentes.

¹ Gen. 3



EPI. His rudimentes, I call first in generall, all that which is called vulgarly the vertue of worde, herbe, & stone: which is vsed by vnlawful charmes, without naturall causes. As likewise all kinde of practicques, freites, or other like extraordinarie actiones, which cannot abide the true toutche of natural deason.

PHI. I would have you to make that playner, by some particular. examples for your proposition is verielgenerall.

EPI. I meane either by such kinde of Charmes as commonlie. dafte wides vses, for healing of forspoken goddes, for preseruing them from euilleyes, by knitting roun-trees, or sundriest. kinde of herbes, to the haire or tailes of the goodes: By curing the Worme, by stemming of blood, by healing of Horse-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of such like innumerable things. by wordes, without applying anie thing, medic to the part offended, as Mediciners doe; Or else by staying maried folkes, to have naturallie adoe with other, (by knifting so manie knottes yoon a poynt at the time of their mariage) And such-like. things, which men vses to practise in their medinesse: For fravoleamed men (being naturallie curious, and locking the true knowledge of God) findes these practises to produe true, as sundrie of them will doe, by the power of the Devill for deceauing men, and not by anie inherent vertue in these vaine. wordes and freites; & being desirous to winne a reputation to themselves in such-like turnes, they either (if they be of the shamefaster sorte) seeke to bee learned by some that are experimented in that Arte, (not knowing it to be eaill at the first) or else being of the grosser sorte, runnes directlie to the Deuill for ambition or desire of gaine, and plaine to contractes. with him thereupon.

PHI. But the thinkes these meanes which yee dall the Schoole. and rudimentes of the Deuill, are thinges lawfull and have bene-



appropued for such in all times and ages: As in special, this science of Astrologie, which is one of the special members of the Mathematicques.

EPI. There are two thinges which the learned haue obstrued from the beginning, in the science of the Heavenlie Creatures, the Planets, Starres, and such like: The one is their course and ordinary motiones, which for that dause is called Astronomia: Which word is a compound of {Greek|nomos} & {Greek ast|rwn}. that is to say, the law of the Starres: And this arte indeed is one of the members of the Mathematiques, & not onelie lawful, but most necessarie and commendable. The other is balled Astrologia, being compounded of {Greek asterwn} & {Greek logos) which is to say, the word, and preaching of the starres: Which is deuided in two partes: The first by knowing thereby the powers of simples, and sickerlesses, the course of the seasons and the weather, being ruled by their influence; which part depending upon the former, although it be not of it selfe a parte of Mathematicques: yet it is not vnlawful, being moderatlie vsed, suppose not so necessarie and commendable as the former. The second part is to truste so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what common-weales shall florigh or decay: what, persones shall be fortuhate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in anie battell: What man shall obteine viltorie at singular combate: What way, and of what age shall men die: What horse shall winne at matche-funning; and diverse such like incredible things, wherein Cardanus, Cornelius Agrippa, and diverse others have more curiouslie then profitably written at large. Of this roote last spoken of, springs innumerable branches; such as the knowledge by the nativities the Cheiromancie.

Geomantie, Hydromantie, Arithmantie, Physiognomie: | & a thousand others: which were much practised, & holden in great reverence by the Gentles of olde. And this last part of Astrologie



whereof I have spoken, which is the root of their branches, was called by them pars fortunæ. This parte now is vtterlie vnlawful to be trusted in, or practized amongst christians, as leaning to no ground of natural reason: & it is this part which I called before the deuils schole.

PHI. But yet manie of the learned are of the contrarie opinion.

EPI. I grant, yet I could give my reasons to fortifie & maintaine my opinion, if to enter into this disputation it wold not draw me quite off the ground of our discours; besides the mis-spending of the whole daie thereupon: One word onely | will answer to them. & that in the Scriptures (which must be an infalliple ground to all true Christians) That in the Prophet Ieremie ¹ it is plainelie forbidden, to believe or hearken vnto them that Prophecies & fore-speakes by the course of the Planets & Starres.

CHAP. V. ARGY

How faire the vsing of Chames is lawfull or violawfull: The description of the formes of Circkles and Conjurationes. And what causeth the Magicianes themselves to wearie thereof.

PHILOMATHES

WELL, Ye have said far inough in that argument. But how proove ye now that these charmes or vinaturall practicques are vilawfull: For so, many honest & merrie men & women have publicklie practized some of them, that I thinke if ye would accuse them all of Witch-craft, ye would affirme more nor ye will be believed in.

¹ lerem. 10

EPI. I see if you had taken good tent (to the nature of that word, whereby (named it,) we would not have bene in this doubt, nor mistaken me, so farre as ye haue done: For although, as none. can be schollers in a schole, & not be subject to the master therebf: so none can studie and put in practize (for studie the alone, and knowledge, is more perilous nor offensive; and it is the practise only that makes the greatnes of the offence.) The cirkles and art of Magie, without dommitting an horrible defection from God: And yet as they that reades and learnes their rudiments, are not the more subject to anie schoolemaster, if it please not their parentes to put them to the schoole thereafter; So they who ighorantly profes these practicques, which it can the deutiles rudifients, vinknowing them. to be baites, casten but by him, for thapping such as God will permit to fall in his hands: This kinde of falkes I saie, no doubt, ar to be judged the best of, in respect they use no invocation nor help of him (by their knowledge at least) in these turnes, and sb haue neuerlentred themselves in Sathans service: Yet to speake truely for my owne part (I speake but for my selfe) I desire not to make so neere riding: For in my opinion our enemie is ouer craftie, and we ouer weake (except the greater grace of God) to assay such hazards, wherein he preases to trap. VS.

PHI. Ye have reason forsooth; for as the common Proverbe saith: They that suppe keile with the Deuill, have neede of long spoones. But now praie you goe forwarde in the describing of this arte of Magie.

EPI. Fra they bee come once vnto this perfection in euill, in hauing any knowledge (whether learned or vnlearned) of this black art: they then beginne to be wearie of the raising of their Maister, by conjured circkles; being both so difficile and



perilous, and so commeth plainelie to a contract with him. wherein speciallic conteined former and effectes.

PHI. But I praye you or ever you goe further, discourse me. some-what of their circkles and conjurationes; And what should be the cause of their wearying thereaf: For it should seeme that that forme should be lesse fearefull yet, than the direct hauntingland societie, with that foule and vocleane Spirite.

EPI. I thinke we take me to be a Witch my selfe, or at the least would faine swearelyour selfe prentise to that craft: Alwaies as I may, I shall shortlie satisfie you, in that kinde of conjurations, which are conteined in such booked, which I call the Deuilles Schoole: There are foure principall partes; the persons of the donjurers; the action of the conjuration; the wordes and rites vsed to that effect; and the Spirites that are conjured. Ye must first remember to laye the ground, that I tould you before: which is, that it is no power inherent in the circles, or in the holines of the names of God blasphemouslie vsed: nor inwhatsoeher rites of ceremonies at that time vsed, that either dan raise any infernall spirit, or yet (mitat him perforce within or without these clides. For it is he chelie, the father of all iyes, who hauling first of all prescribed that forme of doing, feining himselfelto he cornmanded & restreined thereby, wil be loath. to passe the boundes of these injunctiones; aswell thereby to make them glory in the impiring ouer him (as I saide before:) As likewise to make himselfe so to be trusted in these little thinges, that he may have the better commoditie thereafter, to deceive them in the end with a tricke once for all; I meane the euerlasting perdition of their soul & body. Then laying this ground, as I haue said, these cohjurationes must haue few or mo in number. of the persones conjurers (alwaies passing the singuler number). according to the equalitie of the circle, and forme of apparition. two principall thinkes cannot well in that errand be wanted:



holie-water (whereby the Deuill mockes the Papistes) and some present of a lighing thing voto him. There ar likewise certaine seasons, dayes and houres, that they observe in this purpose: These things being all readle, and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double of single, according to the forme of apparition that they crave. But to speake of the diverse formes of the circles, of the innumerable characters and crosses that are within and without, and out-through the same, of the divers formes of apparitiones, that that craftie spirit illudes them with, and of all such particulars in that action, I remit it to over-manie that have busied their heades in describing of the same; as being but curious, and altogether vnprofitable. And this fame onelie I touch, that when the conjured Spirit appeares, which will not be while after manie circumstances, long praiers, and much muttring and murmuring of the conjurers; like a Papist priest, dispatching a hunting Masse: how sohe I say, he appeares, if they have missed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feete once siyd ouer the circle through terror of his feareful apparition, he payes himselfe at that time in his owne hande, of that due debt which they ought him!, and other-wise would have delayed longer to have payed him: I meane hee carries them with him bodile and soule. If this be not now a just cause to make them wearie of these formes of conjuration, I leave it to you to judge youn; considering the long-somehesse of the labour, the precise keeping of dayes and houres (as I have said) The terriblehesse of apparition, and the present perrell that they stande in, in missing the least circumstance or freite, that they ought to observe: And dn the other parte, the Devil is glad to moove them to a plaine and square dealing with him as I said before.

CHÁP, VI ARGV



The Deuilles contract with the Magicians: The division thereof in two partes: What is the difference betwist Gods miracles and the Deuils.

PHILOMATHES

(Ndeede there is cause inough, but rather to leage him at all, then to runne more plainlie to him, if they were wise he delt with. But god forwarde now I pray you to these turnes, fra they become once beacons in this craft.

EPI. From time that they once plainelie begin to contract with him: The effect of their contract consistes in two thinges; in formes and effectes, as I belgan to tell alreadie, were it not yee. interrupted ride (for although the contract be mutuall; I speake first of that part, wherein the Deuill oblishes himselfe to them). by formes, I meane in what shape or fashion he shall come vnto. them, when they call upon him. And by effectes, I understand, in what special sorts of services helplindes himselfe to be subject. vnto them. The qualitie of these formes and effectles, is lesse or greater, according to the skill and art of the Magidian. For as to the formes, to some of the baser sorte of them he oblishes him. selfe to appeare at their dalling ypon him, by such a proper name which he shewes vnto them, either in likenes of a dog, a Catte, an Apel or such-like other beast; or else to answere by a voyce onlie. The effects are to priswere to such demands, as concernes culting of disseases, their lown particular menagery: or such other base things as they require of him.

But to the most curious sorte, in the formes the will oblish himselfe, to enter in a dead|bodie, and there out of to give such answers, of the event of battels, of maters concerning the estate of commonweiths, and such like other great questions: yea, to some he will be a continual attender, in forme of a

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Page: He will permit himselfe to be conjured, for the space of so many years, ether in a tablet or a ring, or such like thing, which they may easely carrie about with them: He gives them bower to sel such wares to others, whereof some will bee dearer, and some better cheape; according to the lying or true speaking of the Spirit that is conjured thefein. Not but that in verie deede, all Devils must be lyars; but so they abuse the simplicitie of these wretches, that bedomes their schollers, that they make them believe, that at the fall of Lucifer, some Spirites fellin the aire, some in the fire, some in the water, some in the laride: In which Elementes they still remaine. Whereupon they build that such as fell in the fire, of in the aire, are thuer then they, who fell in the water or in the land which is all but meare tratiles, & forged be the author of a) deceit. For they fel not be weight, as a solide substance, to stick in any one parte: But the principall part of their fal, consisting in qualitie, by the falling from the grace of God wherein they were created, they continued still thereafter, and shal do while the latter dale, in wahliring through the worlde, as Gbds Hangimen, to execute such turnes. as he employes them in. And when anie of them and not occupyed in that, re-turnle thely must to their prison in hell (as it is plaine in the miracle that CHRIST wrought at Gennezareth 3) therein at the latter daie to be all enclosed for euer: and as they deceive their schollers in this, so do they, in imprinting in them. the opinion that there are so manie Princes, Dukes, and Kinges amongst them, euerie one commanding fewer or mo Legions, and impyring in divers artes, and quarters of the earth. For though that I will not denie that there be a forme of ordour amongst the Angels in Heaven] and consequentlie, was amongst them before their fall; yet, either that they bruike the same sensine; or that God will permit vs to know by damned Deuils, such heavenlie mysteries of his, which he would not reugale to vs neither by Scripture nor Prophets, I thinke no Christiane will

¹ Mat. 8.

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once thinke it. But by the contrarie of all such mysteries, as he hath closed up with his seale of secrecie; it becommeth us to be contented with an humble ignorance they being thinges not

necessarie for our saluation. But to returne to the purpose, as these formes, wherein Sathari oblishes highselfe to the greatest. of the Magicians, are wounderfull curibut; so are the effectes. correspondent vnto the same: For he will oblish himselfe to teach them artes and sciences, which he may easelie doe, being so learned a knaue as he is: To carrie them newes from bnie. parte of the worlde, which the agilitie of a Spirite may easelle performe: to reueale to them the secretas of anie persons, so being they bee once spoken, for the thought none knowed but G O D; except so far as yee may ghesse by their countenance, as: one who is doubtleslie learned inough in the Physiognomie: Yea, he will make his schollers to creepe in credite with Princes, by fore-telling them manie greate thinges; parte true, parte false: For if all were false, he would tyne chedite at all handes; but alwaies doubtsome, as his Oracles were. And he will also make them to please Princes, by faire banquets and daintie dishes, carryed in short space fra the farthest part of the worlde. For no man doubts but he is a thiefe, and his algilitie (as I spake before). makes him to come suche speede. Such-like, he will guard his schollers with faire armies of horse men and foote-men in appearance, castles and fortes: Which all are but impressiones in the aird, easelie gathered by a spirite, drawing so nearle to that substance himselfe: As in like maker he will learne them manie juglarie trickes at Cardes, dice, & such like, to deceiue mennes senses thereby: and such inhumerable false practicques; which are propen by oder-manie in this age: As they who ar acquainted with that Italian called SCOTO yet liuing, can reporte. And yet are all these thinges but deluding of the senses, and no waies true in substance, as were the false. miracles wrought by King Pharaoes Magicians, for counterfeiting Moyses: For that is the difference betulkt Gods myracles and



the Deuils, God is a creator, what he makes appeare in miracle, it is so in effect. As Mayses rod being casten downe, was no doubt turned in a natural Ser- pent: where as the Deuill (as Gods Ape) counterfetting that by his Magicians, maid their wandes to appeare so, onelie to mennes outward senses: as kythed in effect by their being decoured by the other. For it is no wonder, that the Deuill rhay delude our senses, since we see by common proofe, that simple juglars will make an hundreth. thinges seeme both to our eies and eares otherwaies then they are. Now as to the Magicians parte of the contract, it is in a word that thing, which I said before, the Deuil hunts for in all men.

PHI. Surelle ye have shid much to me in this afte, if all that ye haue said be as true as wounderfull.

EPI. For the trugth in these actiones, it will be easelie confirmed, to anie that pleases to take paine upon the reading of diverse authenticque histories, and the inquiring of daily experiences. And as for the trueth of their possibilitie, that they may be, and in what maner, I trust I haud alleaged nothing whereunto I haue not joyned such probable reasons, as I leade to your discretion, to waie and consider: One word bolie I omitted! concerning the forme of making of this contract, which is either written with the Magicians owne bloud: or else being agreed upon (in termes his schole-master) touches him in some parte, though peraduenture no marke remained as if doth with all Witches.

CHAP, VII. ARGV

The reason why the art of Magielis valayfull. What punishment they merite: And who may he accounted guiltie of that crime.

PHILOMATHES



SVRELIE We have made this arte to appear verie monstruous & detestable. But what I pray you shall be said to such as mainteines this art to be lawfull, for as equilips you have made

€1. I say, they sa pour of the panne them seldes, or at least little better, And yet I would be glad to heare their reasons.

PHI. There are two principallie, that euclid heard vsed; beside that which is founded upon the common Prouerb (that the Necromancers commands the Deuill, which ye have already refuted) The one is grounded upon a received custome: The other vpon an authoritie, which some thinkes infallible. Vpon custome, we see that diverse Christian Princes and Magistrates seuere punishers of Witches, will not onelle ouer-see Magicians to live within their dominions; but even some-times delight to see them producesome of their practicques. The other reason is, that Moyses being brought up (as it is expressle said in the Scriptures) in all the sciences of the Algyptians; whereof no doubt, this was one of the principalles. And he notwithstanding of this afte, pleasing God, as he did, consequentlie that art professed by so goddie a man, coulde not be unlawfull.

EPI. As to the first of your reasones, grounded upon custome: I spie, an equill custome can never be accepted for a good law, for the ouer great ighorance of the worde in some Princes and Magistrates, and the contempt thereof in others, moues them to sinne heavelie against their office in that poynt. As to the other reasone, which seemes to be of greater weight, if it were formed in a Syllogisme; it behooved to be in manie termes, and full of fallacies (to speake in termes of logicque) for first, that that generall proposition; affirming Moyses to be taught in all the sciences of the AEgyptians, should conclude that he was thught in Magie, I see no necessity. For we must vinderstand

that the spirit of God there, speaking of sciences, understandes them that are lawfull; for except they be lawfull, they are but abusiue called sciences, & are but ighorances indeede: Nami homo pictus, non est homo. Secondije, giuing that he had bene taught in it, there is great difference, betwixt knowledge and practising of a thing (as I said before) For God knoweth all thinges, being alwaies good, and of our sinne & our infirmitie proceedeth our ignorance. Thirdlie, gluing that he had both studied and practised the same (which is more non-monstruous to be believed by any Christian) yet we know well inough, that before that ever the spirite of God began to call Moyses, he was fled out of AEgypt, being fourtie yeares of age, for the slaughter of an Alegyptian, and in his good-father lethroes lande, first called at the firie bushe, having remained there other fourtie yeares in exile; so that suppose he had beene the wickeddest. man in the worlde before, he then became a changed and regenerat man, and very litle of olds Moyses remained in him. Abraham was an idolater in Vr of Chaldæa, before he was called: And Paule being called Saule, was a most sharp persecutor of the Saintes of God, while that name was changed.

PHI. What punishment then thinke we merites these Magicians and Necromancers?

EPI. The like no doubt, that Sorcerers and Witches merites; and rather so much greater, as their error proceedes of the greater knowledge, and so drawes nerer to the sin against the holy Ghost. And as I saye of them, so saye I the like of all such as consults, enquires, entertaines, & ouersees them, which is seene by the miserable endes of many that askes councell of them: For the Deuill hath neuer better tydings to tell to any, then he tolde to Saule: neither is it lawfull to use so vnlawfull instrumentes, were it neuer for so good a purpose: for that

Demonology, by King James I

axiome in Theologie is most certaine and infallible: Nunquam faciendum est malum vt bonum indelepeniat.

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¹ Ast. 3.

DEMONOLOGIE: THE SECONDE BOOKE

PROUED by the Scripture, that such a thing can be: And the reasones refuted of all such as would call it but an magination and Melancholicque humor.

PHILOMATHES

NOW Since yee have satisfied me howe so fullie, concerning Magie or Necromancie I will pray you to do the like in Sorcerie or Witchcraft.

EPI. That fielde is likewise verie large: and althought in the mouthes; and pennes of manie, yet fewe knowes the trueth thereof, so well as they believe themselves, as I shall so shortely as I can, make you (God willing) as easelie to perceive.

PHI. But I pray you before ye goe further, let mee interrupt you here with a shorte digression: which is, that manie can scarcely beleeue that there is such a thing as Witch-craft. Whose reasons I wil shortely alleage vnto you, that ye may satisfie me as well in that, as ye have done in the rest. For first, whereas the Scripture seemes to proove Witchcraft to be, by diverse examples, and speciallie by sundrie of the same, which ye have alleaged, it is thought by some, that these places speakes of Magicians and Necromancers onlie, & not of Witches. As in special, these wise men of Pharaohs, that counterfeited Moyses miracles, were Magicians say they, & not Witches: As likewise that Prthonisse that Saul consulted with: And so was Simon Magus in the new Testament, as that very stile importes. Secondie, where ye would oppone the daile practicque, &



confession of so manie, that is thought likewise to be but verie melancholicque imaginations of simple rauing creatures. Thirdly, if Witches had such power of Witching of folkes to death, (as they say they have) there had bene none left alive long sence in the world, but they: at the least, no good or godlie person of whatsoever estate, coulde have escaped their deviluie.

EPI. Your three reasons as Iltake, ar grounded the first of them. negativé vpod the Scripture: The second affirmativé vpod Physicke: And the thirde upon the certaine proofe of experience. As to your first, it is most true indeede, that all these wise men of Pharaoh werle Magicians of art As likewise it appeares well that the Pythonisse, with whom Saul consulted, was of that same profession: & so was Simon Magus. But yee: omitted to speake of the Lawe of God, wherein are all Magicians, Diuines, Enchanters, Sorcerers, Witches, & whatsouer of that kinde that consultes with the Deuill, plainelle prohibited, and alike threathed against. And besides that, she who had the Spirite of Python, in the Actes 1, whose Spirite was put to silence. by the Apostle) coulde be no other thing but a verie Sorcerer or . Witch, if ye adhiit the vulgale distinction, to be in a maner thue, whereof I spake in the beginning of our conference. For that spirit whereby she conquested such gaine to her Master, was not at her raising or commanding, as she pleased to appoynt, but spake by high toung, aswipl publicklie, as privatelie: Whereby she seemed to draw nearler to the sort of Clemoniakes or possessed, if that conjunction betwixt them, had not bene of her owne consent: as it appeared by her, not being tormented. therewith: And by her conquesting of such gaine to her masters. (as I haue alreadie said.) As to your second reason grounded vpon Physick, in attributing their confessiones or apprehen-

Act. 16.

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siones, to a natural) melancholicque humour: Ahie that bleases Physicallie to consider upon the hatural humour of melancholie, according to all the Physicians, that euer writ thereupon, they sall finde that that will be ouer short a cloak to couer their knauery with: For as the humor of Melancholic in the selfe is blacke, heavie and terrene, so are the symptomes thereof, in any persones; that are subject therevoto, leannes, dalenes, desire of solitude: and if they come to the highest degree therof, mere folie and Manie: where as by the contrarie, a great nomber of them that ever have bene convict or confessors of Witchcraft, as may be presently scene by manie that have at this time confessed: they are by the contrarie, I say, some of them rich and worldly-wise, some of them fatte or corplient in their bodies, and most part of them altogether gluen buer to the pleasures of the flesh, continual haunting of companie, and all kind of merrines, both lawfull and volawfull, which are thinges directly contrary to the symptomes of Melancholie, whereof I spake, and further experience daylie proues how loath they are to confesse without torture, which withesseth their guiltines, where by the contrary, the Melancholicques neuer spares to bewray themselves, by their continually discourses, feeding therby their humor in that which they thinke no crime. As to your third reason, it scarselie merited an answere. For if the deuill their master were not bridled as the scriptures teachethlys, suppose there were no men nor women to be his instrumentes, he could finde waies inough without anie helpe of others to wrack al mankinde: wherevinto he employes his whole study, and goeth about like a roaring Lyon (as PETER saith) 1 to that effect, but the limites of his power were set down before the foundations of the world were laid, which he hath not power in the least jote to transgresse. But beside all this, there is over greate a certainty to probe that they are, by the daily experience of the harmes that they do,

¹ 1. Pet. 5



both to men, and whatsoever thing men possesses, whome God will permit them to be the instrumentes, so to trouble or visite, as in my discourse of that arte, yee shall heare clearelie proved.

CHAP. II ARGIV

The Etymologie and signification of that word of Sorcerie. The first entresse and prentishippe of them that gives themselves to that craft.

PHILOMATHES

Come on their I pray you, and returne where ye left.

EPI. This world of Sorderie is a Latine worde, which is taken from casting of the lot, & therefore he that vseth it, is called Sortiarius à sorte. As to the word of Witchcraft, it is nothing but a proper name given lib our language. The cause wherefore they were called sortiarij, proceeded of their practicques seeming to come of lot for change: Such as the turning of the riddle: the knowing of the forme of prayers, or such like tokens: If a person diseased woulde live or dye. And in generall, that name was giuen them for vsing of such charmes, and freites, as that Crafte teacheth them. Manie poynts of their craft and practicques are common betwirt the Magicians and them for they serve both one Master, althought in diverse fashjons. And as I devided the Nedromancels, into two sorts, learned and valearned; so must I denie them in other two, riche and of better accompt, poore and of basser degree. These two degrees how of persones, that practises this craft, answers to the passions in them, which (I told you before) the Deuil vsed as meanes to intyse them to his service, for such of them as are in great (niserie and poverție, he allures to follow him, by promising vnto them greate riches, and worldlie commoditie. Such as though riche, yet burnes in a

desperat desire of reliefige, hee allures them by promises, to get their turne satisfied to their hartes contentment. It is to be noted nowe, that that olde and craftic enemie of ours, assailes none, though touched with any of these two extremities, except he first finde an entresse reddy for him, either by the great ignorance of the person he deales with, loyned with an euil life, or else by their carelesnes and contempt of God: And finding them in an otter despair, for one of these two former causes that I have spoken of he prepares the way by feeding them craftely in their humour, and filling them further and further with despaire, while he finde the time proper to discouer himself vnto them. At which time, either vpon their walking solitarie in the fieldes, or else lying pansing in their bed; but alwales without the company of any other, He either by a voyce, or in likenesse of a man inquires of them, what troubles them: and promi- seth them, a suddaine and dertaine waie of remedie. vpon condition on the other parte, that they follow his advise; and do such thinges as he wil require of them: Their mindes being prepared before hand, as I have alreadie spoken, they easelie agreed vnto that demande of his: And syne settes an other tryist, where they may meete againe. At which time, before he proceede any further with them, he first perswades them to addict themselves to his service; which being easely obtained, he then discouers what he is vote them: makes them to renunce their God and Baptisme directlie, and gives them his marke vpon some secret place of their bodie, which remaines soare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer insensible, how soeuer it be nipped or pricked by any, as is dailie proudd, to give them a proofe thereby, that as in that doing, hed could hurte and heale khem; so all their ill and well doing thereafter, must depende upon him. And besides that, the intollerable dolpur that they feele in that place, where he hath marked them, serves to waken them, and not to let them rest, while their next meeting againe: fearing least otherwaies they might either forget him, being as new

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Prentises, and not well inough founded yet, in that fiendlie follie: or else remembring of that horrible promise they made him, at their last meeting, they might skunner at the same, and preasse to call it back. At their thirde meeting, he makes a shew to be carefull, to performe his promises, either by teaching them waies howe to get themselves revenged, if they be of that sort: Or els by teaching them lessons, how by moste vilde and valuation meanes, they may obtaine gaine, and worldlie commoditie, if they be of the other sorte.

CHAP, III, ARGV

The Witches actiones divided in two partes. The actiones proper to their owne persones. Their actiones toward others. The forme of their conventiones, and adoring of their Master.

PHILOMATHES

YE have said now hough of their initiating in that ordour. It restes then that ye discourse vpon their practises, fra they be passed Prentises: for I would faine heare what is possible to them to performe in verile deede. Although they serve a common Master with the Necromancers, (as I have before saide) yet serve they him in an other forme. For as the meanes are diverse, which allures them to these values use they their practises, answering to these meanes, which first the Devill, vsed as instrumentes in them; though all tending to one end: To wit, the enlargeing of Sathans tyrannie, and crossing of the propagation of the Kingdome of CHRIST, so farre as lyeth in the possibilitie, either of the one or other sorte, or of the Devill their Master. For where the Magicians, as allured by curiositie, in the most parte of their practises, seekes principallie the



satisfying of the same, and to winnly to themselules a popular. honoure and estimation:

These Witches on the other parte, being intiged ether for the desire of revenge, or of worldly riches, their whole practises are either to hurte men and their gudes, or what they bossesse, for satisfying of their cruell mindes in the former, of else by the wracke in guhatspeuer sorte, of anie whome God will permitte. them to have dower off, to satisfie their greedie desire in the last poynt.

EPI. In two partes their actiones may be divided; the actiones of their owne persones, and the actiones proceeding from them. towardes anie other. And this dluision being well understood, will easilie resolue you, what is possible to them to dde. For although all that they confesse is no lie voor their parte, yet doubtlesly in my opinibn, a part of it is not inbeede, according as they take it to be: And in this I meane by the actiones of their owne persones. For as I said before, speaking of Magie that the Deuill illudes the senses of these schollers of his, in manie thinges, so saye I the like of these Witches.

PHI. Then I pray you, first to speake of that part of their owner persons, and sylie ye may come next to their actiones towardes; others.

EPI. To the effect that they may performe such services of their false Master, as he employes them in, the deuill as Gods Ape, counterfeites in his servantes this service & forme of adoration, that God prescribed and made his servantes to practise. For as the servants of G O D, bublicklie vses to conveene for serking of him, so makes he thern in great numbers to conveene (though publickly they dare not) for his seruice. As none donucenes to the adoration and worshipping of God, except they be marked with his seale, the Sacrament of Baptisme: 50 hone serves



Sathan, and conveened to the adoring of him, that are not marked with that marke, wherof I alredy spake. As the Minister sent by God, teacheth plainely at the time of their publick conventions, how to serve him in spirit & truth: so that vacleane spirite, in his pwile person teacheth his Disciples, at the time of their conjugating how to worke all kinds of mischiefe: And craues compt of all their horrible and detestable. proceedinges passed, for advancement of his service. Yea, that he may the more viue ie counterfeit and scorne God, he oft times makes his slaues to conveene in these verrie places, which are destinat and ordelined for the conveening of the servantes of God (I meane by Churches) But this farre, which I haue yet said, I not onglie take it to be true in their opiniones, but even so to be indeede. For the forme that he vsed in counterfeiting God amongst the Gentiles, makes me so to thinke: As God spake by his Oracles, spake he not so by his? As G O D had aswell blouble \$adrifices, as others without bloud, had not he the like? As God had Churches sanctified to his seruice, with Altars, Priests Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Prayers; had he not the like colluted to his service? As God gave responses by Vrim and thummim, gaue he not his responses by the intralls of beastes, by the singing of Fowles, and by their actiones in the aire? As God by visiones, dreames, and extases reueiled what was to come, and what was his will voto his scruantes; vsed he not the #ke|meanes to forwarne his slaues of things to come? Yea, elben as God lobed cleannes, hated vice, and impuritie, & appoynted punishmentes therefore: vsed he not the like (though falselie I grant, and but in eschewing the lesse inconvenient, to draw them upon a greater) yet dissimuled he not I say, so farm as to appoynt his Priestes to keepe their bodies cleane and undefiled, before their asking responses of him? And feyned he not God to be a protectour of everie vertue, and a just reuelige of the contrarie? This reason then moues me, that as he isithall same Deuill; and as craftie nowe as:



he was then; so wil hele not spare a dertelie in these actiones. that I have spoken of concerning the witches persones: But further, Witches oft times confesses not only his convedning in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit: Yea, their forme of adoration, to be the kissing of his hinder partes Which though it seeme ridiculous, yet may it likewise be true, seeing we reade that in Calicute, he appearing in forme of a Goatebucke, hath publicklie that vn-honest homage done white him, by everie one of the people: So ambitious is he, and greedie of honour (which procured his fall) that he will even imitate God in that parte, where it is said, that Moyses could see but the hinder partes of God, for the brightnesse of his glorie: that speache is spoken but (Greek anonypwpadeian)

CHAP. III). ARGV

What are the waies possible, wherby the witches may transport themselves to places fair distant. And what ar impossible & mere illusiones of Sathan. And the reasons therof.

PHILOMATHES

But by what way say they or think ye it possible that they can com to these valawful do~uentio~s?

EPI. There is the think which I esteeme their sensed to be deluded in, and though they live not in confessing of it, because they thinke it to be true, yet not to be so in substance of effect: for they saie, that by diverse meanles they may conjugent, either to the adoring of their Master, or to the putting in practise any seruice of his, committed voto their charge: one way is natural, which is natural riding, going or sayling at what houre their Master comes and advertises them. And this way

¹ Exa. 33



may be easelie beleued: an other way is some-what more strange: and yet is it possible to be true: which is by being carryed by the force of the Spirite which is their conducter, either above the earth or above the Sea swiftlie, to the place. where they are to meet: which I am perswaded to be likewaies. possible, in respect that as Habakkuk was carryed by the Angell in that forme, to the denne where Daniell laie; ² so thinke I, the Deuil will be reddie to imitate God, as well in that as in other thinges: which is much more possible to him to doe, being a Spiritle, then to a mighty winde, being but a naturall meteore, to transporte from one place to an other a solide bodie, as is commonlie and dailie seene in practise: Sut in this vio- lent forme they cannot be carryed, but a shorte boundes, agreeing with the space that they may beteine their breath: for if it were longed their breath could not remaine vnextinguished, their bodid being carryed in such a violent & forceable maner, as beexample: If one fall off an small height, his life is but in perrell, according to the harde or soft lighting: But if one fall from an high and stay rocke, his breath wilbe forceablie banished from the bodie, before he can win to the earth, as is oft seen by expedience. And in this transporting they say themselves, that they are inuisible to anie other, except amongst themselves; which may also be possible in my opinion. For if the deuil may forme what kinde of impressiones he pleases in the aire, as I hauelsaid before, speaking of Magle, why may he not far easilier. thicken & obscure so the air, that is next about them by contracting it strait together, that the beames of any other mans eyes, cannot pearce thorow the same, to see them? But the third way of their comming to their conventions, is, that where in 1 think them deluded: for some of them sayeth, that being transformed in the likenesse of a little beast or foule, they will dome and pearce through whatsoever house or Church,

¹ Apoctyphalof Bell and the Opagon.

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though all ordinarie passages be closed, by whatsoever open, the pire may lenter in at. And some sayeth, that their bodies lying still as in an extasy, their spirits will be rauished out of their bodies, & caried to such places. And for verefying therof, will give evident tokens, aswel by witnesses that have seene their body lying senseless in the meane time, as by naming persones, whom with they mette, and giving tokens quhat purpose was amongst them, whome otherwaies they could not have knowen: for this forme of journeing, they affirme to use most, when they are transported from one Countrie to another.

PH). Surelie I long to heare your owne opinion of this: For they are like old wives trattles about the fire. The reasons that modes me to thinke that these are meere illusiones, ar these. First for them that are transformed in likenes of beastes or foules, can enter through so narrow passages, although I may easelie beleeve that the Deuill coulde by his woorkemanshippe vpon the aire, make them appeare to be in such formes, either to themselves or to others: Yet how he can contract a solide bodie within so little roome, I thinke it is directlie contrarie to it selfe, for to be made so little, and yet not diminished: To be so straitlie drawen together, and yet feele no paine; I thinke it is so confrarie to the qualitie of a naturall bodie, and so like to the little transubstantiat god in the Papistes Masse, that I can never beleeue it. So to haue a quantitie, is so proper to a solide bodie, that as all Philosophers concludes, it cannot be any more without one, then a spirite can have one. For when PETER came out of the prison, and the doores all locked: 1 it was not by any confracting of his bodie in so little foome: but by the giuing place of the dore, though vn-espyed by the Gaylors. And yet is there no comparison, when this is done, betuixt the power of God, and of the Deuill. As to their forme of extaste and spirituall transporting, it is certaine the soules going out of the bodie, is

¹ Adıl 12.



the onely difinition of haburall death: and who are once dead, God forbid wee should thinke that it should lie in the power of all the Deuils in Hell, to restore them to their life againe: Although he can put his owne spirite in a dead bodie, which the Necromancers commonlie practise, as yee have harde. For that is the office properly belonging to God; and besides that, the soule once parting from the bodie, cannot wander anie longer. in the worlde, but to the owne resting place must it goe immediatlie, abiding the conjunction of the bodie againe, at the latter daie. And what QHRI\$T or the Prophets did miraculouslie in this case, it cannot in he Christian mans opinion be maid common with the Deull. As for anie tokens that they give for propuling of this, it is verie possible to the Deuils craft, to perswade them to these meanes. For he being a spirite, may hee: not so ravishe their thoughtes, and dull their sences, that their bodie lying as dead, bee may object to their spirites as it were in a dreame, & (as the Poets write of Morpheus) represente such formes of perspines, of places, and other circumstances, as he pleases to illude them with? Yea, that he maie deceive them with the greater efficacie, may hee not at that same instant, by fellow langelles of his, illude such other persones so in that same fashion, whome with he makes them to beleeve that they mette; that all their reportes and tokens. though severallie examined, may everie one agree with an other. And that whatsdelver actiones, either in hurting men or beasts: or whatsoever other thing that they falselie imagine, at that time to have done, may by himselfe or his marrowes, at that same time be done indeede; so as if they would give for a token of their being raulshed at the death of such a person within so shorte space thereafter, whom they believe to have poysoned, or witched at that instante, might hee not at that same houre, have smitten that same person by the permission of G O D, to the farther declaiming of them, and to moone others. to beleeue them? And this is surelie the likeliest way, and most

according to reason, which my judgement can finde out in this, and whatsoeuer other vanaturall poyntes of their confession. And by these meanes shall we saill surelie, betuixt Charabdis and Scylla, in eschewing the not beleeuing of them altogether on the one part, least that drawe vs to the errour that there is no Witches: and on the other parte in beleeuing of it, make vs to eschew the falling into innumerable absurdities, both monstruouslie against all Theologie divine, and Philosophie humaine.

CHAP, V ARGV

Witches actiones towardes others. Why there are more women of that craft nor men? What thinges are possible to them to effectuate by the power of their master. The reasons thereof. What is the surest remedie of the harmes done by them.

PHILOMATHES

Forsooth your opinion in this, seemes to carrie most reason with it, and sence yee have ended, then the actions belonging properly to their owne persones: say forwarde now to their actiones used towardes others.

EPI. In their actiones vsed towardes others, three thinges ought to be considered: First the maner of their consulting thereupon: Next their part as instrumentes: And last their masters parte, who puts the same in execution. As to their consultationes thereupon, they use them oftest in the Churches, where they conveene for adoring: at what time their master enquiring at them what they would be at: everie one of them propones unto him, what wicked turne they would have done, either for obtaining of riches, or for revenging them upon anie whome they have malice at: who granting their demande, as no doubt willinglie he wil, since it is to doe evill, he teacheth them the



means, wherby they may do the same. As for little trifling turnes. that women have ado with, he causeth them to joynt dead corpses, & to make powders thereof, mixing such other thinges. there amongst, as he gives while them.

PHI. But before yee goe further, permit mee I pray you to interrupt you one worde, which yee have put mee in memorie. of, by speaking of Women. What can be the cause that there are twentie women given to that craft, where ther is one man?

EPI. The reason is easie, for as that sexe is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Deuill, as was over well proved to be true, by the Serpent's deceiving of Eualat the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine.

PHI. Returne now where ye left.

EPI. To some others at these times help teacheth, how to make Pictures of waxe or clay: That by the rosting thereof, the persones; that they beare the name of, may be continuallie. melted or dryed awale by continuall sicknesse. To some hee gives such stones or poulders, as will helpe to cure or cast on diseases: And to some he teacheth kindes of vincouthe poysons, which Mediciners understanges not (for he is farre bunningner) then man in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature not that anle of these meanes which hee teacheth them (except the poysons which lare composed of thinges naturall) can of them selves helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onelle being Gods Ape, as well in that, as in all other thinges. Even as Gpd by his Sacramentes which are earthlik of themselves workes a heavenlie effect though no waies by any cooperation in them: And as CHRIST by clay &

spettle virought together, opened the eies of the bliving man, suppose there was no vertue in that which he outwardlike applyed, so the Deuill will have his out-warde meanles to ble shewes as it were of his doing, which hath no part of cooperal tion in his turnes with him, how farre that ever the ignorantels be abused in the contrarie. And as to the effectes of these two former partes, to wit, the cohsultationes and the outward meanes, they are so wounderfull as I dare not allege anie of them, without loyning a sufficient reason of the possibilities thereof. For leaving all the small trifles among wives, and the speake of the principall poyntes of their craft. For the common trifles thereof, they can do without converting well inough by themselves: These principall poyntes I say are these: They call make man or women to love or hate other, which may be verile possible to the Deuil to effectuat, seing he being a subtile spirite, knowes well inough how to perswade the corrupted affection of them whom God will permit him so to deale with: They can lay the siknesse of one upon an other, which likewish is verie possible vnto him: For since by Gods germission, his layed siknesse voon IOB, why may he not farre easilier lay it vpon any other: For as an old practisian, he knowes well inough what humor domines most in anie of vs, and as a spirite hee call subtillie walken up the same, making it peccant, or to aboundel as he thinkes meete for troubling of vs. when God will so permit him. And for the taking off of it, no doubt he will be glad to reliue such of present paine, as he may thinke by these meanes to perswade to bee catched in his euerlasting Isnares and fetters. They can be-witch and take the life of men or women by rosting of the Pictures, as I spake of before, which Ilkewise i verie possible to their Master to performe, for although, (as saide before) that instrumente of waxe have no vertue in that turne doing, yet may hee not verie well even by that same measure that his conjured slauds meltes that waxe at the fire

¹ John. 9.



may he not I say at these same times, subtilie as a spirite so weaken and scatter the spirites of life of the patient, as may make him on th'one part, for faintnessel to sweate out the humour of his bodile: And on the other parte, for the hot concurrence of these spirites, which causes his digestion, so debilitat his stomak, that his humour radicall continually, sweating out on the one parte, and no newlgood suck being but in the place thereof, for lack of digestion on the other, hee at last|shall vanish awaje,|e|uen as his picture| will doe at the fire. And that knaulsh and cunning woorkernan, by troubling him onely at some times, makes a proportion to neare betuixt the woorking of the one and the other, that both shall ende as it were at one time. They can rayse stormes and tempestes in the aire) either voon Sea or land, though not voluersally, but in such a particular place and prescribed boundes, las God will permitte thein so to trouble: Which likewise is verile easie to be discerned. from anie other naturall tempestes that are meteores, in respect of the suddaine and violent raising thereof, together with the short induring of the same. And this is likewise verie possible to their master to do, he having such affinitie with the aire as being a spirite, and having such power of the forming and mooning thereof, as ye have heard me alreadie declare: For in the Scripture, that still of the Prince of the aire is given vnto him 1. They can make folkes to become threaticque or Man acquel which likewise is very possible to their master to do, sehoe they are but naturall sicknesses; and so life may lay on these kindes, aswell as anie others. They can make spirites either to follow and trouble persones, or haunt certaine houses. and affrhie oftentimes the inhabitantes: as hatfl bene knowen to be done by our Witches at this time. And likewise they can make some to be possessed with spirites, & so to becom verie Dæmoniacques: and this last sorte is veriel possible likewise to

¹ Ephes. 2

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the Deuill their Master to do, since he may easilie|sehd his owner angells to trouble in what forme he pleases, any whom God wilpermit him so to vse.

PHI. But will God permit these wicked instrumentes by the power of the Deuill their master, to trouble by anie of these meanes, anie that beleeues in him?.

EPI. No doubt, for there and three kinds of folkes whom God will permit so to be tempted or troubled; the wicked for their horrible sinnes, to punish them in the like measure! The godlie that are sleeping in lande great sinnes or infilmities and weakenesse in faith, to waken them up the faster by such an vincouth forme: and euen some of the best, that their patience may bee tryed before the world, as IOBs was. For why may not God vse anie kinde of extraordinarie punishrhent, when it pleases him; as well as the ordinarie roddes of sicknesse or otherladuersities.

PHI. Who then may he free from these Deuilish practises?

EPI. No man ought to presume so far as to promise anle impubitie to himselfe: for God hath before all beginninges. preordinated aswell the particular sortes of Plagues as of benefites for euerie man, which in the owne time he ordaines them to be visited with, & yet ought we not to be the more affrayde for that, of any thing that the Deuill and his wicked. instrumentes can do against vs. For we dailie fight against the Deuil in a hundreth other waies: And therefore as a valiant Captaine, affrales no more being at the combat, nor stayes from his purpose for the rummishing shot of a Cannon nor the small clack of a Pistoler: suppose he be not certaine what may light vpon him; Euen so ought we boldlie to goe forwarde in fighting against the Deuill without anie greater terrour, for these his



rarest weapons, nor for the ordinarie whereof wee haue daily the proofe.

PHI. Is if not lawfull then by the helpe of some other Witche to cure the disease that is casten on by that craft?

EPI. No waies lawfull: For I gade you the reason thereof in that axiorhe of Theologie, which was the last wordes I spake of Magie

PHI. How then may these diseases he lawfulle cured?

EPI. Φ n Φ lie by e Φ rnest praye Φ t Φ Φ Φ Φ Φ amendement of their lives, and by sharp persewing everie one, according to his calling of these instru- mentes of Sathan, whose punishment to the death will be a salutarie sabrifice for the patient. And this is not doely the latifull way, but likewise the most sure: For by the Deuils rheanes, can neuer the Deuill be casten out, 1 as Christ sayeth. And when such a cure is vsed, it may well serue for a shorte time, but at the Last, it will doubtleslig tend to the ytter. perdition of the patient, both in bodie and soule.

CHAP. VI. ARGV

What sorte of folkes are least or most subject to receive harme. by Witchcraft. What power they have to harme the Magistrate, and yooh what respectes they have any power in prison: And to what end may of will the Deuill appeare to them therein. Vpon what respectes the Deuill appeires in sundry shapes to sundry of themlat any time.

PHILOMATHES

¹ Məth. 3



BVt who dare take /pon him to punish them, if no man can be sure to be free from their vnnaturall invasiones?

EPI. We ought not the more of that restraine from vertue, that the way wherby we climbe thereunto be straight and perrilous. But besides that, as there is no kinde of persones so subject to receive harme of them, as these that are of infirme and weake faith (which is the best buckler against such invasiones:) so have they so small power over none) as over such as zealouslie and earnestlie persewes them, without sparing for anie worldlie respect.

PHI. Then they are like the Pest, which smites these sickarest, that flies it farthest, and apprehends deepliest the perrell thereof.

EPI. It is even so with them: For neither is it able to them to vse anie false cure vpon a patient, except the patient first believe in their power, and so hazard the tinsell of his owne soule, nor yet can they have lesse power to hurte anie, nor such as contamnes most their doinges, so being it comes of faith, and not of anie vaine amogancie in themselves.

PHI. But what is their power against the Magistrate?

EPI. Lesse or greater, according as he deales with them. For if he be slouthfull towardes them, God is verie able to make them instrumentes to waken & punish his slouth. But if he be the contrarie, he according to the just law of God, and allowable law of all Nationes, will be diligent in examining and punishing of them: G O D will not permit their master to trouble or hinder so good a woorke.



PHI. But fra they be bute in handes and firmance, habe they anie further power in their craft?

 EPI . That is according to the forme of their detention. If they be but apprehended and deteined by anie private person, vponother private respectes, their power no doubt either in escaping, or in doing furte, is no lesse nor euer it was be-fore. But if on the other parte, their apprehending and detention be by the lawfull Magistrate, vpor the just respectes of their guiltinesse in that craft, their power is then no greater then before that euer they medled with their master. For where God beginnes justlie to strike by his lawfull Lieutennentes, it is not in the Deuilles power to defraude of bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and revenging Scepter.

PHI. But will neuer their master come to visite them, fra khey be bace apprehended and put in firmance?

EPI. That is according to the estaite that these miserable wretches are in: For it they be obstinate in still denying, he will hot spare, when he finder time to speake with them, either if he finde them in anie corpfort, to fill blem more and more with the vaine hope of some maner of reliefe; or else if hee finde them in a deepe dispaire, by all meanes to augment the same, and to perswade them by some extraordinarie meanes to put themselves downe, which verie commonlie they doe. But if they be penitent and confesse, God will not permit him to trouble. them anie more with his bresence and alurementes.

PHI It is not good vsing his counsell I see then. But I woulde earnestlie know wheh he appeares to them in Prison, what formes vses he then to take?



EPI. Divers formes, even as he vises to do at other times vinto. them. For as I told you, speking of Magie, lie appeares to that kinde of craftes-men ordinatily in an forme, according as they agree upon it amongst themselves: Or if they be but prentises, according to the qualitie of their circles or conjurationes: Yet to these capped creatures, he appeares as he pleases, and as he findes meetest for their hymors. For even at their publick conventiones, he appeares to divers of them in divers formes, as we have found by the difference of their confessiones in that point: For he deluding there with vaine impressiones in the aire, makes himselfe to seeme more terrible to the grosser sorte, that they maie thereby he moved to feare and reverence him. the more: And les monitrous and vacouthlike againe to the craftier sorte, least otherwales they might sturre and skunner at his velinesse.

PHI. How can he then be fell, as they confesse they have done him, if his bodie be but of aire?

EPI. I heare little of that impligst their confessiones, yet may be make himselfe palpable, either by assuming any dead bodie, and vsing the ministrie thereof, or else by deluding as well their sence of feeling as seeing; which is not impossible to him to doe, since all our senses, as we are so weake, and even by ordinarie sicknesses will be often times deluded.

PHI. But I would speere bije worde further yet, concerning his appearing to them in prison, which is this, May any other that chances to be present at that time in the prison, see him as well as thev.

EPI. Some-times they will, and some-times not, as it pleases God.

CHÁP. VII. ARGV



Two formes of the deuils visible conversing in the earth, with the reasones wherefore the one of them was communest in the time of Papistrie: And the other sensine. Those that denies the power of the deuill, denies the power of God, and are guiltie of the errour of the Sadduces,

PHILOMATHES

High the Deuill then power to appeare to any other, except to such as are his sworke disciples: especially since al Oracles, & such like kinds of illusiones were taken awaie and abolished by the cumming of CHRIST?

EPI. Although it be true indeede, that the blightnesse of the Gospell at his cumming, scaled the cloudes of all these grosse. efrors in the Gentilisme: yet that these abusing spirites, ceases npt sensine at sometimes to appeare, dallie experience teaches. vs. Indeede this difference is to be marked betweet the formes of Sathans conversing visiblie in the world. For offtwo different formes thereof, the one of them by the spreading of the Ebangell, and conquest of the white horse, in the sixt Chapter of the Reuelation, is much hindred and become rarer there through. This his appearing to any Christians, froubling of them outwardly, or possessing of them constraynedly. The other of them is be- become communer and more vsed)sensine, I meane by their valawfull artes, whereupon our whole purpose hath bene. This welfinde by experience in this He to be true. For as we know, mod Ghostes and spirites were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blinde Papistrie in these Countries, where nbw by the cohtrarie, a man shall starcely all his time here once. of such things. And yet were these mlawfull after farre rarer at that time: and neuer were so much harde of, for so rife as they ate now.

PHI. What should be the cause of that?

EPI. The diverse nature of our sinnes procures at the fustice of God, diverse sortes of punishments answering thereunto. And therefore as in the time of Papistrie, our fathers erring grosselie, & through ignorance, that mist of errours overshaddowed the Devill to walke the more familiarlie amongst them: And as it were by barnelie and affraying terroures, to mocke and accuse their barnelie erroures. By the contrarie, we now being sounde of Religion, and in our life rebelling to our profession, God justile by that sinne of rebellion, as Samuel calleth it, accuse the our life so wilfullie fighting against our profession.

PHI. Since yee are entred now to speake of the appearing of spirites: I would be glad to heare your opinion in that matter. For manie denies that anie such spirites can appeare in these daies as I have said.

EPI. Doubtleslie who denyeth the power of the Deuill, woulde likewise denie the power of Gcd, if they could for shame. For since the Deuill is the verie contrarie opposite to God, there can be no better way to know God, then by the contrarie; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creator: by the falshood of the one to considder the trueth of the other, by the injustice of the one, to considder the lustice of the other: And by the cruelty of the one, to considder the mercifulnesse of the other: And so foorth in all the rest of the essence of God, and qualities of the Deuill. But I feare indeede there be ouer many Sadduces in this worke, that denies all kindes of spirites: For convicting of whose errour, there is cause inough if there were no more, that God should permit at sometimes spirits visibilie to kyith.



DÆMONOLOGIE: THE THIRDE BOOKE

CHAP. I. ARGV

THE division of spirites in foure principall kindes. The description of the first kinde of them, called Spectra & vinbilize mortuorum. What is the best way to be free of their trouble.

PHILOMATHES

(| ray you now then go forward in telling what ye thinke fabulous, or may be trowed in that case.

EP. That kinde of the Deuils conversing in the earth, may be divided in foure different kindes, whereby he affrayeth and triqubleth the bodies of men: For of the abusing of the soule, I Habe spokeh alreadie. The first is where spirites troubles some. houses or splitarie places: The second, where spirites followes: vpon certaine persones, and at divers houres troubles them: The thirde, when they enter within them and possesse them: The fourth is these kinde of spirites that are called vulgarlie the Fayrie. Of the three former kindes, ye harde alreadie, how they may artificiallie be made by Witch-craft to trouble folke: Now it restes to speake of their naturall comming as it were, and not raysed by Witch-craft. But generally I must for-warne you of one thing before I enter in this purpose: that is, that although in my discourseling of them, I deuyde them in divers kindes, yee must rlokwithstanding there of note my Phrase of speaking in that: For doubtlestie they are in effect, but all one kinde of spirites, who for abusing the more of malikinde, takes on these sundrie. shapel, and uses diluerse formes of but ward actiones, as if some were of nature better then other. Nowe I returne to my purpose: As to the first kinde of these spirites, that were called by the auncients by divers names, according as their actions were. For if they ware spirites that haunted some houses, by appearing in divers and horrible formes, and making greate dinne they were called Lemures or Spectra. If they appeared in likenesse of anie defunct to some friends of his, they wer called vmbra mortuorum And so innumerable stiles they got. according to their actiones, as I have said alreadle. As we see by experience, how manie stiles they haue gi- ven them in our language in the like maner: Of the appearing of these spirites, wee are certified by the Scriptures, where the Prophet ESAY 13. and 3 ϕ , cap, threatrling the destruction of Babell and Edom: 3 declares, that it shallnot onlie be wracked, but shall become so greate a solitude, as it shall be the habitackle of Howleties, and of ZIIM and IIM, which are the proper Hebrewe hames for these. Spirites. The cause whie they haunte so itarie places, it is by reason, that they may affraie and brangle the more the faith of suche as them alone hauntes such places. For our nature is such, as in companies wee are not so soone modued to anie. such kinde of feare, as being solitare, which the Deuill knowing well inough, hee will not therefore assaile vs but when we are weake: And besides that, G O D will not permit him so to dishortour the societies and companies of Christians, as in publicke times and places to walke visible amongst them. On the other parte, when he troubles certaine houses that are dwelt in, it is a sure tipken either of grosse ignorance, or of some grosse and slanderous sinnes amongst the inhaditantes thereof: which God by that extraordinarie rod punishes.

³ Esay, 13 lere, 50

PHI. But by what way or passage can these Spirites enter in these houses, seeing they alledge that they will enter, Doore and Window being steiked?

EPI. They will choose the passage for their entresse, according to the forme that they are in at that time. For if they have assumed a deade bodie, whereinto they lodge themselves, they can easely inough open without dinne anie Doore or Window, and enter in thereat. And if they enter as a spirite onelie, anie place where the aire may come in at, is large inough an entrie for them: For as I said before, a spirite can occupie no quantitie.

PHI. And will God then permit these wicked spirites to trouble the reste of a dead bodie, before the resurrection thereof. Or if he will so, I thinke it should be of the reprobate onely.

EPI. What more is the reste troubled of a dead bodie, when the Deuill carryes it out of the Graue to serue his turne for a space, nor when the Witches takes it up and joyates it, or when as Swine wortes upper the graues? The rest of them that the Scripture speakes of, is not meahed by a locall remaining continuallie in one place, but by their resting from their trauelles and miseries of this worlde, while their latter conjunction againe with the soule at that time to receaue full glorie in both. And that the Deuill may use aswell the ministrie of the bodies of the faithfull in these cases, as of the vn-faithfull, there is no inconvenient; for his haunting with their bodies after they are deade, can no-waies defyle them: In respect of the spules absence. And for anie dishonour it can be ynto them, by what reason can it be greater, then the hanging heading, or many such shameful deaths, that good then will suffer? for there is: nothing in the bodies of the faithfull, more worthiel of hohour. or freer from corruption by nature, nor in these of the voltaithful, while time they be purged and glorified in the latter daie, as is dailie seene by the vide diseases and corruptions, that the bodies of the faythfull are subject vnto, as yee will see clearelie proued, when I speake of the possessed and Dæmoniacques.

PHI. Yet there are sundine that affirmes to have haunted such places, where these sprites are alleaged to be: And coulde never heare nor see anie thing.

EPI. I thinke well: For that is onelie reserved to the secreete knowledge of God, whom he will permit to see such thinges, and whome not.

PHI. But where these spirites hauntes and troubles anie houses, what is the best waie to panishe them?

EPI. By two meanes may onelie the remeid of such things be produced: The one is ardent prayer to God, both of these persones that are troubled with them, and of that Church whereof they are. The other is the purging of themselves by amende ment of life from such sinnes, as have procured that extraordinarie plague.

PHI. And what meanes then these kindes of spirites, when they appeare in the shaddow of a person newlie dead, or to die, to his friendes?

EPI. When they appears upon that occasion, they are called Wraithes in our language. Amongst the Gentiles the Deuill used that much, to make them believe that it was some good spirite that appeared to them then, ether to forewarne them of the death of their friend; or else to discouer unto them, the will of the defunct, or what was the way of his slauchter, as is written in the booke of the histories Prodigious. And this way hee easelie deccived the Gentiles, because they knew not God: And to that same effect is it, that he now appeares in that maner to

some ignorant Christians. For he dare not so illude anie that knoweth that, neither can the spirite of the defunct returne to his friend, or yet an Angell vse such formes.

PHI. And are not our war-woolfes one sorte of these spirits also, that hauntes and troubles some houses or dwelling places?

EPI. There bath indeede bene an old opinion of such like. thinges; For by the Greekes they were called (Greek lukanōrwpol}|which signifleth men-woolfes. But to tell you simplie my opinion|in this, if arile such thing hath bene, I take it to haue. proceeded but of a natural super-abundance of Melancholie, which as wee reade, that it hath made some thinke themselves. Pitchers, and some horsels, and some one kindle of beast or other: So suppose I that It hath so vicial the infagination and memorie of some, as per lucida interualla, it hath so highlie. occupyed them, that they have thought therbselves verile Woolfes indeede at these times: and so have counterfeited their actiones in gdeing on their handes and feete, preassing to devoure women and barnes, fighting and shatching with all the towne dogges, and in vising such like other druitish actiones, and so to become beastes by a strong apprehension, as Nebucadnetzar was seven yeares: I but as to their Hauingland hyding of their hard & schellie sloughes, I take that to be but eiked, by vocertaine report, the author of all lyes.

CHAP. II. ARGV

The description of the next two kindes of Spirites, whereof the one followes outwardle, the other possesses inwardlie the persones that they trouble. That since all Prophecies and

¹ Dan. 4.



visiones are nowe ceased, all spirites that appeares in these formes are euill.

PHILOMATHES

Come forward how to the reste of these kindes of spirites.

EPI. As to the next two kindes, that is, either these that outwardlie troubles and followes some persones, or else inwardlie possesses them: I will adnjøyne them in one, because aswell the causes ar alike in the persons that they are permitted. to trouble: as also the waies whereby they may be remedied and cured.

PHI. What kinds of persones are they that uses to be so troubled?

EPI. Two kindes in speciall: Either such as being guiltle of greeuous offences, God punishes by that horrible kinde of scourdge, or else being persones of the beste nature peraduenture, that yee shall finde in all the Countrie about them, G O D permittes them to be troubled in that sort for the tryall of their patience, and wakening vp of their zeale, for admonishing of the beholders, not to truste over much in themselves, since they are made of no better stuffe, and peraduenture blotted with no smaller sinnes (as CHRIST saide, speaking of them vppon whome the Towre in Siloam fells) And for giving likewise to the spectatators, matter to prayse G O b, that they meriting no better, are yet spared from being corrected in that fearefull forme.

PHI. These are good reasones for the parte of G O D, which apparantlie mobues him so to permit the Deuill to trouble such

¹ Luc. 13.



persones. But since the Deuil hath euer a contrarie respecte in all the actiones that G O O employes him in: which is I pray you the end and mark he shoots at in this turne?

EPI. It is to obtaine one of two thinges thereby, if he may: The one is the tinsell of their life, by inducing them to such perridus places at such time as he either followes or possesses them, which may produre the same: And such like, so farre as G C D will permit him, by tormenting them to weaken their bodie, and caste them in incurable diseases. The other thinge that hee preases to obtaine by troubling of them, is the tinsell of their Soule, by intising them to mistruste and blaspheme God: Either for the intollerablenesse of their tormentes, as he assayed to have done with IOB; ¹ or else for his promising vnto them to leave the troubling of them, incase they would so do, as is knowen by experience at this same time by the confession of a young one that was so troubled.

PHI. Since ye have spoken now of both these kindes of spirites comprehending them in one: I must nowe goe backe againe in speciall, and first for these that followes certains persones, yee know that there are two sortes of them: One sorte that troub es and tormentes the persones that they haunt with: An other sort that are serviceable vnto them in all kinde of their necessaries, and omittes never to forwarne them of anie suddaine perrell that they are to be in. And so in this case, I would understande whither both these sortes be but wicked and damned spirites: Or if the last sorte be rather Angells, (as should appeare by their actiones) sent by God to assist such as he special le fauoures. For it is written in the Scriptures, that God sendes Legions of Angells to guarde and watch over his elect. ²

¹ lab. x.

² Gen. 32. 1. Kip. 6 Psal. 34.



EPI. I know well inough where fra that errour which ye alleage hath proceeded: For it was the ignorant Gentiles that were the fountaine thereof. Who for that they knew not God they forged in their owne imaginationes, query man to be skill accompanied with two spirites, whereof they called the one genius bonus, the other genius majus: the Greekes called them (Greek endaimona) & {Greek kakodaimona}| wherof the former they saide, perswaded him to all the good he did: the other entised him to all the euill. But braised be God we that are christlans, & walks not amongst the Cymnherian conjectures of man, knowes well inough, that it is the good spirite of God onely, who is the fountain of all goodnes, that perswads vs to the thinking of doing of any good: and that it is our corrupted (leshe and Sathan, that intigeth vs to the contrarie. And yet the Deuill for confirming in the heades of ignoraunt Christians, that errou) first mainteined among the Gentiles, he whiles among the first kinde of spirits that I speak of, appeared in time of Papistrie and blindnesse, and flaunted divers houses, without doing any euill but doing as it were necessarie turnes up and down the house; and this spirit they called Brownie in our language, who appeared like a fough-man: yea, some were so blinded, as to believe that their house was all the sonsier, as they called it, that such spirites resorted there.

PHI. But since the Deuils intention in all his actions, is lever to do euill,, what euill was there in that forme of doing, since their actions outwardly were good.

EPI Was It not evill injough to deceive simple ignorantes, in making them to take him for an Angell of light, and so to account of Gods enemile, as of their particular friends where by the contrarie, all we that are Christians, ought assuredly to know that since the comming of Christ in the flesh, and establishing of his Church by the Apostles, all mirables, visions,



prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good spirites are ceased. Which seruled onely for the first sowing of faith, & planting of the Church. Where now the Church being established, and the white Horse whereof I spake before having made his conqueste, the Lawe and Prophets are thought sufficient to serve vs. or make vs inexcusable, as Christisaith in his parable of lazarus and the riche man. 2

CHAP III. ARGV

The description of a particular sort of that kind of following spirites, called incubi and Succubi: And what is the reason wherefore these kindes of spirites hauntes most the Northerne and barbarous partes of the world.

PHILOMATHES:

THE next question that I would speere, is likely ise concerning this first of these two kindes of spirites that ye have conjoyned: and it is this ye knowe how it is commonly written and reported, that amongst the lest of the sortes of spirites that followes dertaine persons, there is one more monstrolls nor althe rest: in respect as it is alleaged, they converse naturally with them whom they trouble and hauntes with: and therefore I would knowe in two|thinges your opinion herein: First if|suche a thing can be: and next if it be! whether there be a difference of sexes amongst these spirites or not.

EPI. That abhominable kinde of the Deuils abosing of men or women, was called of old, include and Succubi, according to the difference of the sexes that they conversed with. By two meanes this great kinde of abuse might possibly be performed:

¹ Luk. 16.



The one, when the Deuill onelie as a spirite, and stealing out the sperme of a dead bodie, abuses them that way, they not graithlie seeing anie shape or feeling anie thing, but that which he so conuaves in that part! As we reade of a Mohasterie of Nunnes which were burnt for their being that way abused. The other meane is when he borrowes a dead blodle and so visiblie, and as it seemes unto them haturallie as a man converses with them. But it is to be noted, that in whatsoeper way he vseth it, that sperme seemes intollerably cold to the person abused. For if he steale out the nature of a quick person, it cannot be so quicklie carryed, but it will both tine the strength and heate by the way, which it could never have had for lacke of agitation, which in the time of procreation is the procurer & wakener vp. of these two natural hualities. And if he occupying the dead bodie as his lodging expell the same out thereof in the dewetime, it must likewise be colde by the participation with the qualities of the dead bodie whereout of it comes. And whereas yee inquire if these spirites be divided in sexes or not, I thinke the rules of Philosophie may easelie resolue a man of the contrarie: For it is a sure principle of that arte, that obthing can be divided in sexes, except such living bodies as must have a naturall seede to ge- nere by. But we know spirites hath no seede proper to themselves, nor yet can they gender one with an other.

PHI. How is it then that they say sundile monsters have benegotten by that way.

EPI. These tales are nothing but Aniles fabulæ. For that they have no nature of their owne, I have shewed you alreadie. And that the cold nature of a dead bodie, can woorke hothing in generation, it is more nor glaine, as being already dead of it selfe as well as the rest of the bodie is, wanting the naturall heate, and such other naturall operation, as is necessarie for woorking that effect, and incase such a thing were possible



(which were all utterly against all the rules of nature) it would bread no monster, but onely such a naturall of-spring, as would have cummed betuixt that man or woman and that other abused person, in case they both being aliue had had a doe with other. For the Deuilles parte therein, is but the naked carrying or expelling of that substance: And so it coulde not participate with no qualitie of the same. Indeede, it is possible to the craft of the Deuill to make a womans bellie to swel after he hath that way abused her, which he may do, either by steiring vp her own humor, or by herbes, as we see beggars daily doe. And when the time of her delivery should come to make her thoil great doloures, like virto that naturall course, and then subtillie to slippe in the Mid-wives handes, stockes, stones, or some monstruous barne brought from some other place, but this is more reported and gessed at by others, nor beleeved by me.

PHI. But what is the cause that this kinde of abuse is thought to be most common in such wild partes of the worlde, as Lap-land, and Fin-land, or in our North Hes of Orknay and Schet-land.

EPI. Because where the Deuill findes greatest ignorance and barbaritie, there assayles he grosseliest, as I gaue you the reason wherefore there was moe Witches of women kinde nor men.

PHI. Can anle be so vnhappie as to give their willing consent to the Deuilles vilde abusing them in this forme.

EPI. Yea, some of the Witches have confessed, that he bath perswaded them to glue their willing consent thereunto, that he may thereby have them feltred the sikarer in his snares; But as the other compelled sorte is to be pittied and prayed for, so is this most highlie to be punished and detested.

13

PHI. It is not the thing which we call the Mare, which takes folkes sleeping in their bedds, a kinde of these spirites, whereof ye are speaking?

EPI. No, that is but a natural sicknes, which the Mediciners hath given that name of Incubus vnto ab incubando, because it being a thicke fleume, falling into our breast vpon the harte, while we are sleeping, intercludes so our vitall spirites, and takes all power from vs, as maks vs think that there were some vrnaturall purden or spirite, lying vpon vs and holding vs downe.

CHAP. IIII ARGV

The description of the Dæmoniackes &possessed. By what reason the Papistes may have power to cure them.

PHILOMATHES

WEL, I have told you now all my doubts, and ye have satisfied me therein, concerning the first of these two kindes of spirites that ye have conjoyned. Now I am to Inquire onely two thinges at you concerning the last kinde, I meane the Dæmoniackes. The first is, whereby shall these possessed folks be discerned fra them that are trubled with a natural Phrensie or Manie. The next is, how can it be that they can be remedied by the Papistes Church, whome wee counting as Hereticques, it should appeare that one Deuil should not cast out an other, for then would his kingdome be divided in it selfe, as CHRIST said. ²

EPI. As to your first question; there are divers symptomes, whereby that heavie trouble may be discerned from a naturall sickenesse, and speciallie three, omitting the divers vaine signes that the Papistes attributes vnto it: Such as the raging at holie

¹ Mat. 12 Mark. 3

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water, their fleeing a back from the Croce, their not abiding the hearing of God named, and innumerable such like vaine thinges. that were alike fashious and feckles to redite. But to come to these three symptomes then, whereof I spake, I account the one of them to be the incredible strength of the possessed creature, which will farre exceede the strength of dix of the wightest and wodest of any other men that are not so troubled. The next is the boldning up so far of the patients breast and bellie, with such an vignaturall sturring and vehement agitation. within them: And such an ironic hardnes of his sindowed so stiffelie bended dut, that it were not possible to prick out as it. were the skinne of an e other person so far: so mightely works the Devil in all the members and senses of his body, he being locallie within the same, suppose of his Soule and affectiones. thereof, hee hauf no more power then of any other maks. The last is, the speaking of sundrie languages, which the patient is: knowed by them that were acquainte with him neuel to have learned, and that with an vincouth and hollowe voice, and all the time of his speaking, algreater motion being in his breast theh in his mouth. But frig this last symptome is excepted such, as lare. altogether in the time of their possessing bereft of all their senses being possessed with a dumme land blynde spirite, whereof Christ releiged one, in the 12. Of Mathew, And as to your next demande, it is first to be doubted if the Papistes or anie not professing the the onelie true Religion, can relieve dnie. of that trouble. And next, in-case they can, ypon what respectes it is possible votolthem. As to the former voor two reasons, it is grounded: first that it is knowen so manie of them to bee. counterfite, which wyle the Clergie inventes for confirming of their rotten Religion. The next is, that by experience we finde that few, who are possessed indeede, are fullie cured by them: but rather the Debill is content to release the bodelie hulting of them, for a shorte space, thereby to obtains the perpetual hurt of the soules of so many that by these false miracles may be

induced or confirmed in the profession of that erroneous Religion: leven as I told you before that he doth in the false. cures, or casting off of diseases by Witches. As to the other part of the argument in-case they can, which rather (with reugrence of the learned thinking otherwaies) I am induced to beleque, by reason of the faithfull report that men sound of religion, haue. madelacdording to their sight thereof, I think if so be, I say these may be the respectes, whereupon the Papistes may have that power. CHRIST gaue a commission and power to his Apostles to cast but Deuilles, which they according thereunto but in execution: The rules he had them obserue in that action, was fasting and praier: & the action it selfe to be done in his name. This gower of theirs proceeded not then of anie vertue in them, but ohely in him who directed them. As was clearly probed by ludas his hauling as greate power in that commission, as anie of the restel it is easie then to be understand that the casting out of Debilles, is by the vertue of fasting and prayer, and in-calling of the name of God, suppose manie imperfectiones be in the person that is the instrumente, as CHRIST him selfe teacheth vs of the power that false Prophets sall haue to caste out Devils. 2 It is no wounder then, these respects of this action being considered, that it may be possible to the Papistes, though erring in sundrie points of Religion to accomplish this, if they vse the right forme prescribed by CHRIST herein. For what the worse is that action that they erre in other thinges, more then their Baptisme is the worse that they erre in the other Sacrament, and have eiked many vaine freittes to the Baptisme it. selfe.

PHI. Surelie it is no little wonder that God should permit the bodies of anie of the faithfull to be so dishonoured, as to be a dwelling place to that vncleane spirite.

¹ Mat. 7.



EPI. There is it which I told right now, would produe and strengthen my argument of the deuils entring in the dead bodies of the faithfull. For if he is permitted to enter in their living bodies, even when they are idyned with the sovie: how much more will God permit him to enter (n) their dead carions, which is no more man, but the fifthle and corruptible caise of man. For as CHRIST Sayth, It is not any thing that enters within man that defiles him, but onely that which proceedes and commeth out of him! 1

CHAP. V. ARGV

The description of the fourth kinde of Spirites called the Phairie: What is possible the ein, and what is but illusiones. How far this Dialogue entreates of all these thinges, and to what end.

PHILOMATHES

NOW I pray you come on to that fourth kindle of spirites.

EPI. That fourth kinds of spirites, which by the Gentiles was called Diana, and her wanthing Court, and amongst vs was called the Phairie (as I tould you) or our good neighboures, was one of the sortes of illusiones that was infest in the time of Papistrie: for although it was holden odious to Prophesie by the deuill, yet whome these kinds of Spirites carryed awais, and informed, they were thought to be sonsiest and of best life. To speake of the many vaine trattles founded upon that illusion: How there was a King and Queene of Phairie, of such a jolly court & train as they had, how they had a teynd, & dutie, as it were, of all goods: how they naturallie rode and went, eate and drank, and did all other actiones like naturall men and women: I

¹ Mark. 7



thinke it liker VIRGILS Campi Elysij, nor anielthing that ought to be beleeved by Christians, except in general, that as I spake sundrie times before, the deuil illuded the senses of sundry simple creatures, in making therh beleeve that they saw and harde such thinges as were nothing so indeed.

PHI. But how can it be then, that sundrie Witches have gone to death with that confession, that they have ben transported with the Phairie to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who being now lighted gauge them a stone that had sondrie vertues, which at sundrie times hath beneproduced in judgement?

EPI. I say that, even as I said before of that Imagifiar ravishing of the spirite foorth of the bodie. For may not the deuil object to their fantasie, their senses being dulled, and as it were a sleepe, such hilles & houses within them, such gistering courts and traines, and whatsoever such like wherewith he pleaseth to delude them. And in the meane time their bodies being senselesse to conuay in their Hande any storle or such like thing, which he makes them to imagine to have received in such a place.

PHI. But what say ye to their fore-telling the death of sundrie persones, whome they alleage to have seene in these places? That is, a spoth-dreame (as they say) since they see it walking.

EPI. I thinke that either they have not bene sharply inough examined, that gave so blunt a feason for their Prophesie, or otherwaies, I thinke it likewise as possible that the Deuill may prophesie to them when he deceibes their that introduces in that sorte, as well as when he plainely speakes you them at other times for their prophesying, is but by a kinde of vision, as it were, wherein he commonly dounterfeits look among the Ethnicks, as I told you before.

Ä,

PHI I would know now whether these kindes of spirites may only appeare to Witches, or if they may also appeare to anie other.

EPI. They may do to both, to the innocent sort, either to affraie them, or to seeme to be a better sorte of folkes nor uncleane spirites are, and to the Witches, to be a cullour of safetie for them, that ignorant Magistrates may not punish them for it, as I told even now. But as the one sorte, for being perforce troubled with them ought to be pittied, so ought the other sorte (who may bee discerned by their taking uppor them to Prophesie by them.) That sorte I say, ought as severely to be punished as any other. Witches, and rather the more, that that they goe dissemblingly to woorke.

PHI. And what makes the spirites have so different names from others.

EPI. Even the knaverie of that same devil; who as hee illudes the Necromancers with innumerable feyned names for him and his angels, as in special, making Sathar, Beelzebub, & Luclfer, to be three sundry spirites, where we finde the two former, but divers names given to the Prince of all the rebelling angels by the Scripture. As by CHRIST, the Prince of all the Devilles is called, Beelzebub in that place, which I alleaged against the power of any hereticques to cast out Devils. By IOHN in the Revelation, the old tempter is called, Sathan the Prince of all the evill angels. And the last, to wit, Luclfer, is but by allegorie taken from the day Starre (so named in divers places of the Scriptures) because of his excellencie (I meane the Prince of the Witches, by attributing to himselfe divers names: as if every



divers shape that he trans formes himselfe in, were a divers kinde of spirit.

PHI. But I have hard many moe strange tales of this Phairie, nor ye haue yet told me.

EPI. As well I do in that, as I did in all the rest of my discourse. For because the ground of this conference of ours, proceeded of your speering at the at our meeting, if there was such a thing as Witches or spirites: And if they had any power: I therefore haue framed my whole discours, only to prope that such things are and may be, by such number of examples as I show to be possible by reason: & keeps me from dipping any further in playing the part of a Dictionarie, to tell what ever I have read or harde in that purpose, which both would exceede fayth, and rather would seeme to teach such unlawfull artes, nor to disallow and condemne them, as it is the duetic of all Christians. ta do.

CHAP, VI. ARGV

Of the tryall and punishment of Witches, What sorte of accusation ought to be admitted against them. What is the cause of the increasing so far of their number in this age.

PHILOMATHES

THEN To make an ende of our conference, since I seelit drawes. late, what forme of punishment thinke ye merites these Magicians and Witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guiltie?

EPI. They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the civill and imperial law, and municipall law of all Christian nations.



PHI. But what kinde of death I pray you?

EPI. It is commonly used by fire, but that is an indifferent thing to be used in every cuntrie, according to the Law or custome thereof.

PHI. But ought no sexe, age nor ranck to be exempted?

EPI. None at all (being so vsed by the lawful Magistrate) for it is the highest poynt of Idolatrie, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.

PHI. Then baimes may not be spared?

EPI. Yea, not a haire the lesse of my conclusion.

For they are not that capable of reason as to practise such thinges. And for any being in company and not reueiling thereof, their lesse and ignorant age will no doubt excuse them.

PHI. I see ye condemne them all that are of the counsell of such craftes.

EPI. No doubt, for as I said, speaking of Magle, the consulters, trusters in, ouer-seers, intertelners or sturrers up of these craftes-folkes, are equallic guiltie with themselves that are the practisers.

PHI. Whether may the Prince then, or supreame Magistrate, spare or ouer-see any that are guiltie of that craft? vpon som great respects known to him?



EPI. The Prince or Magistrate for further tryals cause, may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinkes convenient: But in the end to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so severelie punish in so bdious a fault & treason against God, it is not only valawful, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in SAVLES sparing of AGAG 1. And so comparable to the sin of Witch-craft it selfe, as SAMVELL alleaged at that time.

PHI. Surely then, I think since this prime ought to be so squerely punished. Judges ought to beware to condemne any, but such as they are sure are guiltie, neither should the clattering reporter of a carling serve in so weightie a case.

EPI. ludges bught indeede to beward whome they condemne: For it is as great a crime (as SALOMON sayeth,) To condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free; i neither ought the report of any one infamous person, be admitted for a sufficient proofe, which can stand of no law.

PHI. And what may a humber then of guilty persons confessions, woork against one that is accused?

EPI. The assise must serue for interpretour of our law in that respect. But in my opinion, since in a mater of treason against the Prince, barnes or wives, or neper so diffamed persons, may of our law serue for sufficient witnesses and proofes. I thinke surely that by a far greater reason, such withesses may be sufficient in matters of high treason against God: For who but Witches can be produes, and so witnesses of the dollngs of Witches.

¹ 1. 5am. 15.

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PHI. Indeed, I trow they will be loath to put any honest man vpon their counsell. But what if they accuse folke to have pere present at their imaginar conventiones in the spirite, when their bodies lyes sencelesse, as ye have said.

EPI. I think they are not a haire the lesse guiltie: For the Deuill durst neuer haue borrowed their shaddow or similitude to that turne, if their consent had not bene at it: And the consent number turnes is death of the law.

PHI. Then SAMVEL was a Witch: For the Deuill resembled his shape, and played his person in gluing response to SAVLE.

EPI. SAMVEL was dead aswell before that; and so none coulde slander him with medling in that vollawfull arte. For the dause why, as I take it, that God will hot permit Sathan to vse the shapes or similitudes of any innotent persones at such volawful. times, is that God will not permit that any inno- cent persons. shalbe slandered with that vile defection; for then the beuil would find waies anew, to calumniate the best. And this we haue in proofe by them that are carryed with the Phairie, who neuer see the shaddowes of any in that courte, but of them that thereafter are tryed to have beine brethren and sisters of that craft. And this was likewise prough by the confession of a young Lasse, troubled with spirites, laide on her by Witchdraft. That although shee saw the shapes of diverse men & women troubling her, and naming the persons whom these shaddowes represents: yet never one of them are found to be innocent, but al clearely tried to be most guilty, & the most part of them. confessing the same. And besides that, I think it hath benseldome harde tell of, that any whome persones guiltie of that crime accused, as having knowed them to be their marrowes by eye-sight, and not by hear-say, but such as were so accused of Witch-craft, could not be dearely tryed upon them, were at the



least publickly knowen to be of alvery euil life & reputation: so iealous is God I say, of the fame of them that are innocent in such causes. And besides that, there are two other good helpes that may be used for their trial: the one is the finding of their marke, and the trying the insensiblenes thereof. The other is their fleeting on the water: for as in a secret murther, if the deade carcase be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it wil gush out of bloud, as if the blud web crying to the heaven for revenge of the murtherer. God Having appoynted that secret super-naturall signe, for tryall of that secrete vinaturall crime, so it appeares that God hath appoynted (for a super-natural) signe of the monstruous impietie. of the Witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom, that have shallen off them the sacred Water of Baptisme, and wilfullie refused the benefite thereof: No not so much as their eyes are able to shed teares (thretten and torture) therh as ye please) while first they repent (God not bermitting therh to dissemble their obstinacie in so florrible a crime) albeit the women kinde especially, be able other-waies to shed teares. at elvery light occasion when they will, yea, although it were dissemblingly like the Crocodiles.

PHI. Well, wee haue made this conference to last as long as leasure would permit: And to conclude then, since I am to take my leave of you, I pray God to purge this Cuntrie of these divellishe practises: for they were never so rife in these partes, as they are now.

EPI. I pray God that so be to. But the causes ar over manifest, that makes them to be so rife. For the greate wickednesse of the people on the one parte, procures this horrible defection, whereby God justlie punisheth sinne, by a greater iniquitie. And on the other part, the consummation of the worlde, and our deliverance drawing neare, makes Sathan to rage the more in

his instruments, knowing his kingdome to be so neare an ende. And so fare-well for this time.

¹ Reuel. 2.

TOITHE READER

THE MANIFOLDE Intruthes which is spread abroade, concerning the detestable actions and apprehension of those Witches wherof this Historye following truely entreateth, hath caused me to publish the same in print: and the rather for that sundije written Copies are lately dispersed therof, co~taining, that the said witches were first discouered, by meanes of a poore Pedler trauailing to the towne of Trenent, and that by a wonderfull manner he was in a moment conuayed at midnight, from Scotland to Burdeux in Fraunce (beeing places of no small distance between) into a Marchants Seller there. & after, being sent from Burdeux into Scotland by certaine Scottish Marchants to the Kinges Maiestie, that he discougred those Witches and was the cause of their apprehension: with a number of matters military / lous and incredible: All which in truthe are moste faise. Nevertheles to satisfie a number of honest mindes, who are desirous to be enformed of the veritie and trueth of their confessions, which for certaintie is more stranger then the common regarte runneth, and yet with more trueth I hauevndertaken to publish this short Treatise, which declareth the true dischurse of all that hath hapned, & aswell what was pretended bithose wicked and detestable Witches against the Kinges Malestie, as also by what meanes they wrought the same.

All which examinations (gentle Reader) I have heere truelye published, as they were taken and vttered in the presence of the Kings Malestie, praying thee to accept it for veritie, the same beeing so true as cannot be reproued.

8

NEWES FROM SCOTLAND

■ OD by his omnipotent power, hath at alltimes and paily. doth take such care, and is so vigillant, for the weald and preservation of his owne, that thereby he disabointeth the wicked practises and euil intents of all such as by any mednes whatsoeller, seeke indirectly to conspire any thing confrary to his holy will: yea and by the same power, he hath lately querthrown and hindered the intentions and wicked dealinges of a great number of vigodly creatures, no better then Diuels: who suffering themselves to be allured and inticed. by the Diuell whom they serued, and to whome they twere pritiatelye sworned entered into ye detestable Alt of witch-draft, which they studied and practised so long time, that in the end they had seduced by their sorcery a number of other to be as badias themselves: dwelling in the boundes of Lowthiah, which is a principall shire or parte of Scotland, where the kings Maiestie vseth to make his cheefest residence or abode: and to the end that their detestable wickednes which they privilye had pretended against the Kings Maiestie, the Common-weale of that Country, with the Nobilitie and subjects of the same, should come to light: God of his vaspeakeable goodnes did reugale and lay it open in very strange sorte, therby to make knowne vnto the worlde, that there actions were contrarye to the lawe of God||and the naturall affection which we ought generallye to beare one to another: the manner of the receiling. wherof was as followeth.

'Within the towne of Trenent in the Kingdome of Scotland, there dwelleth one Dauid Seaton, who being deputie Bailiffe in the saide Towne, had a maide servant called Geillis Dungane,



who vsed secretly to be absent and to lye foorth of helf Maislers house every other night this Geillis Duntane took in hand to help all such as were thoubled or greeued with any kinde of sicknes or infirmitie: and in short space did perfourme manye matters most miraculous, which thinges for a smuch as she began to doe them vpor a sodaine, having neuer down the like before, made her Maister and others to be in great admiracion. and wondred thereat: by meanes wherof the saide David Seaton had his maide in some great suspition, that she did hot those things by naturall and lawfull wayes, but rather supposed it to be doone by some extraordinary and unlawfull meanes.

Whervpon, her Maister began to growe very inquisitiue, and examined her which way and by what meanes she were able to perfourme matters of so great importance: whereat she gave him no answere, neuerthelesse, her Maister to the intent that he might the better trye and finde out the trueth of the same, did with the helpe of others, torment her with the torture of the Pilliwinckes vpon her fingers, which is a greeuous torture, and binding or wrinching her head with a corde or roape, which is a most cruell torment also yet would she not confesse any thing, whereupon they suspecting that she had beene marked by the Diuell (as commonly withhes are) made dilligent search about her, and found the engines marke to be in her fore crap or foreparte of her throate: which being found, she confessed that all her dooings was doone by the wicked allurements. inticements of the Diuell and that she did them by witchcraft

After this her confession, she was committed to prison, where she continued for a season, where immediatly she accused these persons following to be notorious witches, and caused them foorthwith to be apprehended one after an other, vidz. Agnis Sampson the eldest Witch of them al, dwelling in Haddington, Agnes Tompson of Edenbrough, Doctor Flan, allas John Cunningham, mailter of the Schoole at Salt-pans in Lowthian, of whose life and strange actes, you shall heare more largely in the ende of this discourse: these were by the saide Geillis Duncane accused, as also George Motts wife dwelling in Saltpans, Robert Griersonn skipper, and lennit Bandilandis, with the Porte's wife of Seaton, the Smith at the brigge Hallis with innumerable others in that partes, and dwelling in those bounds aforesaide: of whom some are alreadye executed, the rest remaine in prison, to receive the doome of ludgement at the Kings majesties will and pleasure.



The said deillis Duncane also caused Ewphame Meealrean to be apprehended, who conspired and perfourmed the death of her Godfather, and who vsed her art vpon a gentleman being one of the Lords and lustices of the Session, for bearing good will to her Daughter: she also caused to be apprehended one Barbara Naper, for bewitching to death Archibalde last Earle of Angus, who languished to death by witchcraft and yet the same was not suspected, but that he died of so strange a disease, as the Phishlon knew not how to cure or remedy the same; but of all



other the saide witches, these two last before recited, were reputed for as civill honest women as any that dwelled within the Citie of Edenbrough, before they were apprehended. Many other besides were taken dwelling in Lleth, who are detayned in prison, vntill his Maiesties further will and pleasure be known: of whose wicked doolngs you shall particularly heare, which was as followeth.

This aforeaside Agnis Sampson which was the elder Witch, was taken and brought to Hallciud house before the Kings Maiestle. and sundry other of the nobility of \$cotland, where she was straitly examined, but all the perswasions which the Kings majestie vsed to her with ye rest of his counsell, might not prouble or induce her to confesse any thing, but stood stiffely in the deniall of all that was laide to her charge; wherepon they caused her to be conveied awaye to prison, there to receive such torture as hath been lately prohided for witches in that country: and forasmuch as by due examination of witchcraft and witches in Scotland, it hath latelye beenle found that the Dedill dooth generallye marke them with a privile rharke, by reason the Witches have confessed themselves, that the Divell docth lick them with his tung in some priny part of their bodie, before hee dooth receive them to be his servants, which marke commonly is given them under the haire in some part of their bodye, wherby it may not easily be found out or seene, although they be searched: and generally so long as the marke is not seene to those which search them, so long the parties that hath the marke will never confesse any thing. Therlore by special commaundement this Agnis Sampson had all her haire shapen of, in each parte of her bodie, and her head thrawen with a rope according to the custome of that Chuntryel beeing a paine most greeuous, which she continued almost an hower, during which time she would not confesse any thing whill the Diuels marke was found upon her pridities, then she immediat-



type confessed whatsoeuer was demaunded of her, and justifying those persons aforesaid to be notorious witches.

the h, the saide Agnis Tompson was after brought againe before the Kings Maiestie and his Counsell, and being examined of the meetings and detestable dealings of those witches, she confessed that vpon the night of Allhollon Euen last, she was accompanied aswell with the persons aforesaide, as also with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundreth: and that all they together went by Sea each one in a Riddle or Ciue, {sieve?-jth} and went in the same very substantially with flaggons of wine making merrie and drinking by the waye in the same Riddles or Ciues, to the Kerke of North Barrick in Lowthian, and that after they had landed, tooke handes on the land and daunced this reill or short daunce, singing all with one voice.

Commer goe ye before, commer goe ye, Giffye will not goe before, commer let me.

At which time she confessed, that this Geilles Duncane did goe before them playing this reill or daunce vpon a small Trump, called a lewes Trump, vntill they entred into the Kerk of north Barrick.

These confessions made the King in a woderful admiration and sent for ye said GeillisDuncane, who vpon the like Trump did playe the said daunce before the Kings Maiestie, who in respect of the strangenes of these matters, tooke great delight to bee present at their examinations.

Item, the said Agnis Tompson confessed that the Diuell being then at North Barrick Kerke attending their comming in the habit or likenes of a man, and seeing that they tarried over long,



he at their comming enjoyned them all to a perinance, which was, that they should kisse his Buttockes, in signe of duetye to him: which being put ouer the Pulpit barre, everye one did as he had enjoyned them: and having made his vingodly exhortations, wherein he did greative envelope against the King of Scotland, he received their oathes for their good and true service towards him and departed; which doone, they returned to Sea, and so home begine.

At which time the witches demanded of the Diuel why he did beare such hatred to the King, who answered, by reason the King is the greatest enemy he hath in the workle: all which their onfessions and depositions are still extant upon record.

Item, the saide Aghis Sampson confessed before the Kings Maiestie sundrye thinges which were so miraculous and strange, as that his Malestie saide they were all extreame lyars, wherat she answered she would not wishe his Maiestie to suppose her woords to be false, but rather to believe them, in that she would dischuer such matter vitto him as his maiestie. should not any way doubt off.

And therupon taking his Maiestie a little aside, she declared vnto him the verye woordes which passed betweene the Kings Maiestie and his Queene at Vpslo in Norway the first night of their mariage, with heir answere eache to other whereat the Kinges Maiestie wondered greatlye, and swore by the living God, that he beleeued that all the Diuels in hell could not have discovered the same: acknowledging her woords to be most true, and therefore gaue the more credit to the rest which is before declared.

Touching this Agnis Tompson, she is the onlye weman, who by the Diuels perswasion should have entended and put in execution the Kings Maliesties death in this manner.

She conlessed that she tooke a blacke Toade, and did harg the same vp by the heeles, three daies, and collected and gathered the venome as it dropped and fell from it in an Oister shell, and kept the same venome close couered, vntill she should obtaine any parte or peece of foule linnen cloth, that had appertained to the Kings Maiestie, as shirt, handkercher, napkin or any other thing which she practised to obtaine by meanes of one lohn Kers, who being attendant in his Maiesties Chamber, desired him for olde acquaintance betweene them, to helpe her to one or a peece of such a cloth as is aforesaide, which thing the said lohn Kers denyed to helpe her too, saying he could not help her too it.

And the said Agnis Tompson by her depositions since her apprehension saith, that if she had obtained any one peace of linnen cloth which the King had worne and fouled, she had bewitched him to death, and put him to such extraordinary paines, as if he had beene lying vpon sharp thornes and endes of Needles.

Moreover she confessed that at the time when his Maiestle was in Denmarke, she being accompanied with the parties before specially named, tooke a Cat and christened it, and afterward bound to each parte of that Cat, the cheefest partes of a dead man, and severall loynts of his bodie, and that in the night following the saide Cat was conveied into the midst of the sea by all these witches sayling in their riddles or Cities as is aforesaide, and so left the saide Cat right before the Towne of Lieth in Scotland: this doone, there did arise such a tempest in the Sea, as a greater hath not beene scene: which tempest was the cause of the perrishing of a Boate or vessell comming over from the towne of Brunt Hand to the towne of Lieth, wherein was sundrye levelles and riche giftes, which should have been



presented to the now Queen of Scotland, at her Maiesties comming to Lieth.

Against it is confessed, that the said christened Cat was the cause that the Kinges Maiesties Ship at his comming foorth of Denmarke, had a contrary winde to the rest of his Ships, then being in his companye, which thing was most strange and true, as the Kings Malestie acknowledgeth, for when the rest of the Shippes had a faire and good winde, then was the winde contrarye and a togither against his Maiestie; and further the saide witche declared, that his Maiestie had neuer some safelye from the Sea, if his faith had not preuailed aboue their ententions.

Moreover the said Witches being demaun-ded how the Dwell would use them when he was in their company, they confessed that when the Dwell did receive them for his servants, and that they had vowed themselves unto him, then he would Carnaliye use them, albeit to their little pleasure, in respect of his colde nature; and would doo the like at sundry other times.

As touching the afcresaide Doctor Flan, alias John Cunningham, the examination of his actes since his apprehension, declareth the great subtiltye of the diuell, and therfore make hithinges to appeare the more miraculous: for being apprehended by the accusation of the saide Geillis Duncane aforesaide, who confessed he was their Regester, and that there was not one man suffered to come to the Diuels readinges but onlye he: the saide Doctor was taken and imprisoned, and vsed with the accustomed paine, provided for those offences, inflicted vpon the rest as is aforesaide.

First by thrawing of his head with a roape, wherat he would confesse nothing.

Secondly, he was perswaded by faile means to confesse his follies, but that would preuaile as little.

Lastly he was put to the most severe and cruell paine in the world, called the bootes, who after he had received three strokes, being enquired if he would confesse his damnable acts and wicked life, his tung would not serve him to speak, in respect whereof the rest of the witches willed to search his tung, under which was found two pinnes thrust up into the head, whereupon the VVItches did laye, Now is the Charme stinted, and shewed that those charmed Pinnes were the cause he could not confesse any thing: then was he immediatly released of the bootes, brought before the King, his confession was taken, and his owne hand willingly set ther unto, which contained as followeth.

First, that at the generall meetinges of those witches, her was alwayes preasent that he was Clarke to all those that were in subjection to the Diuels service, bearing the name of witches, that alwaye he did take their othes for their true service to the Diuell, and that he wrot for them such matters as the Diuell still pleased to commaund him.

Item, he confessed that by his witchcrafte he did bewitch a Gentleman dwelling neere to the Saltpans, where the said Doctor kept Schoole, onely for being enamoured of a Gentlewoman whome he loued himselfe: by meanes of which his Sorcerye, witchcraft and diuelish practises, he caused the said Gentleman that once in xxiiij, howres he fell into a lunacie and madnes, and so cotinued one whole hower together, and for the veritie of the same, he caused the Gentleman to be brought before the Kinges Maiestie, which was voon the xxiiij, day of December last, and being in his Maiesties Chamber, suddenly he gave a great scritch and fell into a madnes, sometime bending

himselfe, and sometime capring so directly vp, that his head did touch the seeling of the Chamber, to the great admiration of his Maiestie and others then present: so that all the Gentlemen in the Chamber were not able to holde him, vntill they called in more helpe, who together bound him hand and foot: and suffering the sald gentleman to lye still vntill his furye were past, he within an hower came againe to himselfe, when being demaunded of the Kings Maiestie what he saw or did all that while, answered that he had been in a sound sleepe.



Item the said Opctor did also confesse that he had vsed means sundry times to obtain his purpose and wicked intent of the same Gentlewoman, and seeing himselfe disapointed of his intention, he determined by all waies he might to obtaine the same, trusting by conjuring, witchcraft and Sorcery to obtaine it in this manner.

It happened this gentlewoman being vnmarled, had a brother who went to schoole with the said Doctor, and calling his Scholler to him, demaunded if he did lye with his sister, who answered he did, by meanes wherof he thought to obtaine his purpose, and therefore secretiye promised to teach him wtout stripes, so he would obtain for him three haires of his sisters



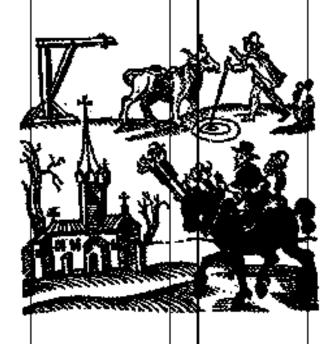
priuities, at such time as he should spye best occasion for it: which the youth promised faithfullye to perfourme, and vowed speedily to put it in practise, taking a peece of conjured paper of his maister to lappe them in when he had gotten them: and therevpon the boye practised nightlye to obtaine his maisters purpose, especially when his sister was a sleepe.

But God who knoweth the secrets of all harts, and revealeth all wicked and vngodlye practises, would not suffer the intents of this divillsh Doctor to come to that purpose which he supposed it would, and therefore to declare that he was heavilye offended with his wicked entent, did so woorke by the Gentlewomans owne meanes, that in the ende the same was discovered and brought to light: for she being one night a sleepe, and her brother in bed with her, suddenlye cryed out to her mother, declaring that her Brother would not suffer her to sleepe, wherevoon her mother having a quick capacitie, did vehemently suspect Doctor Fians entention, by reason she was a witche of her selfe, and therefore presently arose, and was very inquisitive of the boy to vnderstand his intent, and the better to know ye same, did beat him with sundry stripes, wherby he discovered the trueth vnto her.

The Mother therefore being well practised in witchcrafte, did thinke it most convenient to meete with the Doctor in his owne Arte, and therevoon tooke the paper from the boy, wherein hee should have put the same haires, and went to a young Herfer which never had borne Calfe nor gone to the Bull, and with a paire of sheeres, clipped off three haires from the wider of the Cow, and wrapt them in the same paper, which she againe delivered to the boy, then willing him to give the same to his saide Maister, which he immediatly did.

The Schoolsmaister so soone as he had received them, thinking them indeede to bee the Maides haires, went straight and wrought his arte vpon them: But the Doctor had no sooner doore his intent to them, but presentlye the Hayfer or Cow whose haires they were indeed, came vnto the doore of the Church wherein the Schoolsmaister was, into the which the Hayfer went, and made towards the Schoolsmaister, leaping and dauncing vpon him, and following him foorth of the church and to what place so ever he went to the great admiration of all the townes men of Saltpans, and many other who did beholde the same.

The reporte whereof made all men imagine that hee did woorke it by the Dwell, without whom it could neuer have beene so sufficientlys effected; and thervoon, the name of the said Doctor Fien (who was but a very yong man) began to grow so common among the people of Scotland, that he was secretive nominated for a notable Cuniurer.





All which although in the beginning he denied, and would not confesse, yet hauling felt the pain of the bootes (and the charme) stinted, as aforesayd) be confessed all the aloresaid to be most true, without producing anie withesses to justifie the same, & therepon before the kings malesty he subscribed the sayd confessions with his owne hande, which for truth remaineth vpon record in Schtland

After that the depositions and examinations of the sayd doctor. Fian Alias Cuningham was taken, as alreadie is declared with his owne hand willingly set therevote, hee was by the master of the prison committed to ward, and appointed to a chamber by himselfe, where forsaking his wicked wayes, acknowledging his most vagodly lyfe, shewing that he had too much foldwed the allurements and entisements of sathan, and foodly practised his conclusions by equiuring, witchcraft, inchantment, sorderie, and such like, hee rehounded the depill and all his wicked workes, vowed to leade the life of a Christian, and seemed newly connected towards God

The morrow after vpqr conference had with him, he granted that the deuill had appeared whto him in the night before, appareled all in blacke, with a white wand in his hande, and that the deuill demauhded of him if hee would continue his faithfull. service, according to his first oath and promise made to that effect. Whome (as hee then sayd) he vitterly renounced to his face, and sayde unto him in this manner, Aubide Satan, aubide. for I have listned too much vnto thee, and by the same thou hast vindone med, in respect whereof I vitterly/forsake/thee. To whome the deuil answered, That once ere thou die thou shalt. bee mine. And with that (as he sayde) the depill brake the white wande, and immediatly vanished foorth of his sight.



Thus all the daje this Doctor Fian continued verie solitarie, and seemed to have care of his owner soule, and would call uppon God, shewing himselfe penitent for his wicked life, neuerthelesse the same night hee founde such meanes, that hee stole the key of the prison doore and dhamber in the which he was, which in the night hee opened and fled awale to the Salt pans, where hee was alwayes resident, and first apprehended. Of whose sodaine departure when the Kings maiestic had intelligence, hee presently commanded diligent inquirie to bee made for his apprehension, and fdrithe better effecting thereof, hee sent publice proclamations into all partes of his lands to the same effect. By meanes of whose hot and harde pursuite, he was agayn taken and brought to prison, and then being called before the kings highnes, hee was reexamined as well touching his departure, as also touching all that had before happened.

But this Doctor, not withstanding that his owne confession appeareth remaining in recorde violer his owne hande writing, and the same therevito fixed in the presence of the Kings maiestie and sundrie of his Councell, yet did hee vitterly denie the same.

Wherevoon the kinges maiestid perceiving his stubbourne wilfulnesse, conceived and imagined that in the time of his absence hee had entered into newe conference and league with the deuill his master, and that hee had beene agayne newly marked, for the which hee was narrowly searched, but it coulde not in anie wise bee founde, yet for more tryall of him to make him confesse, hee was commaunifed to have a most straunge. torment which was done in this manner following.

His nailes vpon all his lingers were riven and pulled off with an instrument called in Scottish a Turkes, which in England wee call a payre of pinders, and under eutile nayle there was thrust in two needels over even up to the heads. At all which tormentes



notwithstanding the Ooctor neuer shronke anie whit, neither woulde he then confesse it the sooner for all the tortures. inflicted vpon Him.

Then was help with all convenient speed, by commandement, convalied againe to the torment of the bootes, wherein hee continued a light time, and did abide to many blowes in them, that his legges were crushte and beaten togeather as small as might bee, and the bones and flesh so brused, that the bloud and marrowel spouted forth in great abundance, whereby they were made unserviceable for ever. And notivithstanding althese grieuous paines and cruell torments hee would not confesse aniel thing, so deepely had the deuill entered into his heart, that hee vitterly denied all that which he had before aududhed, and woulde sale nothing therevoted but this, that what hee had done and sayde before, was doely done and sayde|for feare|of paynes which he had endured.|

Upon great consideration therefore taken by the Kings maiestie. and his Councell, as well for the due execution of lightice upport such idetestable malefactors, as also for example sake, to remaine a terrour to all others heereafter, that shall attempt to deale in the lyke wicked and vngodlye actions, as witchcraft, sorce(y, cunil)(ation, &such lyke, the sayde Doctor Fian was soond after araigned, condemned, and adjudged by the law to die, and then to bee burned according to the lawle of that lande, prouided in that behalfe. Wherevoon hee was gut into a carte, and beeing first strangled, hee was immediatly put into a great fire, being readie provided for that purpose, and there burned in the Castle hill of Edenbrough on a saterdaie in the ende of lanuarie last past, 1591.

The rest of the witches which are not yet executed, remayne in prison till farther triall, and knowledgelof his malesties pleasure.

This strange discourse before recited, may perhaps give some occasion of doubt to such as shall happen to reade the same, and thereby conjecture that the Kings majestic would not hazarde himselfe in the presence of such notorious witches, least therby might haud insued great danger to his person and the generall state of the land, which thing in truth might well have bene feared. But to answer generally to such, let this suffice: that first it is well knowen that the King is the child & servant of God, and they but servants to the devil, hee is the Lords appointed, and they but vesselles of Gods wrath: he is a true Christian, and trusteth in God, they worse than Infidels for they orlely trust in the deuill, who daily serue them, till he haue brought them to vtter destruction. But heereby it seemeth that his Highresse carried a magnanimious and vindanted mind, not feared with their inchantmentes, but resolute in this, that so long as God is with him, hee feareth not who is against him. And trulle the whole scope of this treatise dooth so plainely late open the wonderfull prouidence of the Almightie, that if he had not berigidefended by his omnipotencie and power, his Highnes had neuer returned alive in his voiage from Denmarke, so that there is no doubt but God woulde as well defend him on the land as by the sea, where they pretended their damnable practise.



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